

LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

AFTER THE 22nd CONGRESS
R. Palme Dutt

*

LET NOT MY PEOPLE COME!
D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

*

BRITAIN AND THE WORLD BANK
John Eaton

*

IN THE CONGO TODAY
Jack Woddis

*

IN CRISIS AND WAR
William Gallacher

DECEMBER 1961

One Shilling and Sixpence

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

HOW MANY EX-SERVICEMEN parading at war memorials recalled the British Government's pledge at Berlin sixteen years ago, to 'assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world'? Today that question, basic to the demand 'No War over Berlin', dominates our lives. Again, how many victims of the Tory Cabinet's 'pay pause' and threat to close down pits and railway services remember a Tory Chancellor's promise to 'double the standard of living in 25 years'? A *pensioner* comments caustically that 'the *cost* of living is certainly going that way. Well, that's as much as you can expect from a Tory promise. Anyway, no one can say that L.M. didn't give warning. Moral: read it!' And that is just what an increasing number of new subscribers are doing. A reader from *the Potteries* who first took out a subscription this April, expressing 'appreciation for the wonderful reading', gives a good picture of why. 'Because of L.M.'s complete coverage I am never at a loss for explaining many of the happenings in the world. My only regret—and my loss—is that I never took your magazine earlier'. He gets from L.M. the broad sweep of events—'the splendid development that man is passing through, although very tragic and high in price'. When there is turmoil and anxiety about peace and economic security, confusion from Press lies and propaganda, contrast of Tory promise and performance, whilst the Labour movement is hamstrung and divided by right-wing leadership—that is exactly when people look for steady

and consistent breadth of vision. In such circumstances, how much L.M. is needed! And yet as an *East Anglian* writes, 'I can't understand why I didn't discover L.M. years ago.' Well, it is certainly a disadvantage not to have the vast resources necessary to supply newsagents everywhere with posters and copies on sale or return for display. Instead we have to try to be seen where the most active members of the Labour movement are at their most active—on demonstrations, marches and lobbies, at conferences and trade union and factory gate meetings. Since the handful of us who work here cannot be everywhere at once, even if we were centipedes and had a hundred hands and fifty heads, with no home to go to and nothing else to do (instead of looking more or less like anyone else) this much-needed many-handed L.M. circulation-builder has to be the readers themselves. Of course that is exactly how, over these forty years of continuous publication, the miracle has been worked.

Here are the ways of some circulation-builders that I know of today. Whenever I go to *Conferences*, a couple or so of readers are sure to come up and say: 'Give me half a dozen; I'll get them round our delegation'. The 1961 champion at this, was a *Scottish* miner, who disposed of 50 and remarked that he could have done with more! The same thing happens at *demonstrations and peace marches*: on the C.N.D. march at Blackpool, a university student took six off me 'for our lot', another young lad took two, while a schoolboy insisted on helping by carrying a poster. A *busy trade union official* in engineering has two postal subscriptions each month. He claims it saves him time; he keeps

(Continued on page iii of cover)

Notes of the Month

After the Twenty-Second Congress

ALL the enemies of communism are having a jubilant laugh because they imagine that the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been chiefly engaged in replacing the former exaggerated deification of Stalin by an alternative exaggerated debunking and tearing down of idols. Once again they are hopefully anticipating and predicting, as they have regularly

done in vain every year for forty-four years, this time on the basis of the Albanian question or reported Soviet-Chinese variations of estimation, the approaching fissure and downfall and disruption of the international communist movement. They would be wiser to restrain their laughter and try to use their intelligence to understand what is really happening. Even the most hostile critics and 'Kremlinologists' (to use their own favourite current self-description) can nowadays no longer deny that the socialist revolution has brought and is further bringing a harvest of human achievement without parallel in the record of man on earth. They can no longer deny the evidence of their five senses, although some stout die-hards still valiantly assert that the Sputniks and Vostoks are pure fictions of propaganda—a kind of 'Potemkin villages'

CONTENTS

Vol. XLIII DECEMBER · 1961

	Page
NOTES OF THE MONTH: <i>After the Twenty-Second Congress</i> , by R.P.D.	545
LET NOT MY PEOPLE COME, by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.	557
IMMIGRANTS AND CRISIS, by Leo McGree	561
BRITAIN AND THE WORLD BANK, by John Eaton	564
OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM GALLACHER, by R. Palme Dutt	568
DRAWING OF WILLIAM GALLACHER, by Reg Turner	569
WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE CONGO? by Jack Woddis	570
THE LESSON OF WELSH STEEL, by C. Roderick	576
IN CRISIS AND WAR, by W. Gallacher	580
Book Reviews: Eastern Europe in the Post-war World, by Hubert Ripka: <i>Cdr. P. Young, R.N., Rtd.</i>	585
Friendly Societies in England, by P. H. J. H. Gosden: <i>Katherine Hood</i>	586
New Dimensions in Foreign Policy, by Max Beloff: <i>Pat Sloan</i>	587

floating in the sky. When the spaceship orbits the globe, they are compelled to admit that the most advanced sector of capitalism is still struggling, not yet successfully, to reach the same goal.

The New Man

When the living representatives of the new socialist man, of the younger adult generation brought up under socialism, a Yuri Gagarin or a Titov, arouse the spontaneous enthusiasm of the masses in any country they visit, not merely because of their record, but by their character and bearing, their modesty and humanity and intelligence and friendliness and essential decency, the same critics are uneasily aware that these are the products, born and bred and their characters formed in their formative years up to manhood, during what these critics are pleased to call disdainfully 'the Stalin era', seeking thereby to dismiss that entire epic era of socialist construction and ordeal and heroism and tragedy and victory, as if it were a mere crude melodrama of tyranny and repression, such as could never have produced from the son of a peasant or the foundry worker a Gagarin or a Titov. When these critics scornfully deride mere 'material' progress—speaking of course from their own well-feathered nests at the centres of imperialist plunder and loot—and descant on their own superior 'spiritual' values, they have ruefully to admit in their next breath that socialism, starting from a foundation of illiteracy, has already produced a higher educational and cultural level of hundreds of millions than the most advanced and prosperous capitalist country is able to show.

Politics of Revolution

Yes. The facts defeat them. The record of achievement can no longer be denied. Sometimes even with an air of condescending patronage they admit it. But the politics which have made that achievement possible remain to them a closed book. Each successive new turn of the revolution's relentless advance, the ceaseless re-assessment and renewals, the casting aside of all that is old and outworn, without regard to personal reputations, the public display of every sore without regard to external comment, the audacious new initiatives always accompanied by new struggles extending to the topmost leadership—all the politics of revolution can only arouse in these observers sniggers of superiority as they reflect 'how different all this is from the home life of our dear Queen'.

No Halting Ground

The Bolshevik Revolution is less than half a century old. This is no long space in the human record. But within this short space it has already accomplished a transformation never before known. Other revolutions have changed the form of class society, often through sanguinary battles, often ending in counter-revolution. This revolution has ended class society. Does this mean that the transformation is now complete? That it comes to a halt? That it is henceforth all past history, like the English revolution of the seventeenth century or the French or American revolutions of the eighteenth century? On the contrary. It lives. It moves. It is still living history. Future historians in the era of communism will be able with peaceful objectivity to measure and investigate the entire record and assess the role of every participant. Today the advance goes forward, and involves new struggles, in the course of which the past itself and the reassessment of the past becomes an element in the present struggle. The transformation, on the basis of the fulfilment of socialism, now goes forward to new uncharted fields, whose character could have before only been foreshadowed by the inspired predictions of the founders of modern scientific socialism, of communism—to the construction of communist society. This is the permanent historical significance of the Twenty-Second Congress and its Programme—a significance, not only for the Soviet people, but for all mankind. This breath-taking new advance is inseparably bound up in the immediate present with the accompanying political struggles and decisions, necessary struggles and decisions to clear from the path all that can be an obstacle to the fulfilment of the new advance.

Continuous Battles

Every step of this transformation over these forty-four years has been accompanied by sharp struggles, not only against the external enemies, not only against the internal class enemies until their final defeat and ending, not only against the physical obstacles of nature to master and harness the forces of nature, but also sharp internal struggles of policies and trends, finding expression in the changing roles of particular leaders at particular times. The forms of these internal struggles have varied in different periods. It was a shock when at the very moment of the revolution two of the most prominent leaders betrayed the plan of the uprising to the enemy; or when, with the German armies advancing to destroy the revolution, Lenin

was for a critical period defeated by a majority of the central committee in his advocacy of the necessity to sign a peace with German imperialism, with the resultant loss of the Baltic Soviet Republics; or when the so-called 'Left Communists' in the leadership plotted with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in the plan to remove Lenin from leadership.

Against Factionalism

The subsequent battles of rival platforms and factions rose to such a point, threatening disruption of the party and consequent destruction of Soviet power, that at the Tenth Congress in 1920 Lenin had to introduce the new ruling which was adopted to safeguard party unity by banning all factions within the party or 'formation of groups with separate platforms, striving to segregate and create their own group discipline'. Thereafter, while the party rallied on the basis of unity, discipline and democratic functioning, as laid down at the Tenth Congress, the remains of factionalism moved over to conspiratorial anti-party forms. Endless became the factional anti-party sallies, exposures, expulsions, recantations, self-castigations, pledges for future behaviour, readmissions on this basis and renewed violations of pledges on the part of a handful of leaders. By 1927, unable to win any support inside the party or the soviets, the factionalists even attempted a *putsch* to call on the masses in the streets to rally against the party leadership, with an ignominious fiasco and failure to win response. Such was the sharpness of the struggles accompanying the advance of the party and the revolution long before the present period or the thirties. Through all these the hostile critics abroad sharpened their pens to hurl derision and denunciation and prophecies of disruption. Through all, and in spite of all difficulties, the socialist revolution went forward; the Soviet masses, invincibly united through their party and the soviets and the myriad forms of democratic functioning at all levels, carried forward their giant task of reconstruction of their society from the ruins of war and civil war to the beginning of socialist construction.

Era of Ordeal

Then came the era of fascism in the world. Fascism, for which the guilt lay, not on the Soviet people, but on the peoples of the West. The flower of the new generation, of the first generation who had grown up under Soviet power, had to give their lives to save the world from fascism. They had never known capitalism; they

had only read about it in their schoolbooks; and Western critics used to scoff at the false picture they were given of the horrors of Western capitalist civilisation. And then in 1941 Western capitalist civilisation burst upon them in the shape of fascism; and they knew it was a hundred times more horrible than anything they had read of in their textbooks. In preparation for this ordeal a superhuman effort had to be made during the preceding years. Industrialisation had to be accelerated at a forced pace, and every year from the moment Hitler came to power arms production was multiplied and multiplied again (for them there were no 'years that the locust had eaten') to build up the mighty socialist arsenal which supplied 96 per cent of the tanks and the guns and the planes with which the socialist armies destroyed the main bulk of the fascist armies.

Triumph and Tragedy

Such was the ordeal, without parallel in human history, which the socialist revolution had to face, and did face with final triumph. But the price was heavy, not only in the millions and millions of lives lost, not only in the unprecedented material destruction of resources so painfully built up, not only in the retarding of the vast social and popular advance on the basis of the foundation of socialism which had been planned for the mid-nineteen thirties, as shown in the new democratic constitution at that time, but also the political price. Fascism sought to establish its fifth column above all in the Soviet Union, as it had done in every other country in Europe. At the same time the remaining factionalist leaders had moved over to counter-revolution and turned to public declarations, in their publications issued in the capitalist world, that the leadership of the Soviet Union could only be overthrown by force, and to speculations on an impending military defeat of the Soviet Union in the face of a German-Japanese fascist offensive (a defeat declared to be inevitable in the absence of a West European proletarian revolution) as opening the way to a new government.

A Political Distortion

In this situation the security organs of soviet power had to perform a giant task, and had to be equipped with extraordinary emergency powers, including trial and sentence in camera, subject only to the check of the highest government authority. This was not in principle abnormal for such a situation; for the same had

had to be applied, under the control of Lenin, during the interventionist wars and counter-revolutionary terror met by red terror. The main task was in fact accomplished. Fascism, which had built its fifth column in every other country, never succeeded to build its fifth column in the Soviet Union. But the price was heavy. The guilty perished, but many innocent also, honest and tried revolutionary fighters, were unjustly executed or sentenced to long imprisonment. The emergency powers were distorted and misused. This abuse was not inevitable, but the consequence of a unique combination of circumstances in an abnormal situation, arising from the personality and personal role of Stalin at the head of the government during this period, his obvious outstanding political ability and judgment and record of achievement giving him a unique authority which became more and more unquestioned, so that weighty decisions, including control of the operation of the security organs, became personal decisions of Stalin and those immediately around him, at the expense of the proper democratic functioning of the higher party and soviet organs. All this was involved in what has been technically defined—and is often misunderstood—as ‘the cult of personality’.

Correction from Within

This abnormal situation continued during the crisis years of the fascist offensive, the war and the first phase of the cold war when the still devastated Soviet Union had to face the new offensive of Anglo-American imperialism taking over from Hitler. Not until after the death of Stalin, after the grim testing and perils of the crisis years had been successfully surmounted, and more stable conditions of strength had been achieved through the previous effort and sacrifices, did it become possible for the party to review the preceding period and enter on the task of correcting what had gone wrong. For socialists and militant workers outside the Soviet Union during this period in question there could be no basis of knowledge to judge the specific actions and decisions of the security organs save in respect of the fully reported public trials, where acquaintance with the previous records and characters and words of the principal participants corresponded closely enough with their subsequent declarations at the trials to make this political outcome understandable. These public trials have not so far been questioned or repudiated in the official statements made during these eight years of review. The rehabilitations so far have only been in respect of those

found to have been unjustly sentenced under special procedure without public trial.

Solidarity with the Socialist Revolution

In respect of the justice or otherwise of the non-public trials and decisions of the security organs there could be no basis of knowledge for anyone outside the country, nor indeed for the mass of the Soviet people themselves, to make a judgment at the time. The Soviet people unhesitatingly and with full confidence fought for the régime, for working-class power, for their socialist fatherland, just as they accepted the leadership of Stalin as the representative of the party, of the fulfilment of socialism and of victory over fascism. In the same way for the international movement the only choice at the time could be: either solidarity with the socialist revolution under fire, including recognition of the right of a revolutionary régime to determine what emergency measures it requires for its maintenance; or to join the clamour of the anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary chorus. Only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could itself review the period, when the time came, in order to draw the lessons and put right what went wrong. This has gone continuously forward during these eight years of dynamic new initiative and new advance, at first through three years of administrative corrections to restore effective democratic functioning at all levels, then with the review for the party membership at the Twentieth Congress, now with the full and unsparing public review at the Twenty-Second Congress, including the demonstrative destruction of symbols, to mark the decisive break with all that went wrong in the preceding period and clear the way for confident and unhesitating advance into the new conditions of the construction of communism.

Towards New Horizons

The great goals set by the Twenty-Second Congress find expression in the new Communist Programme and in the Twenty Year Plan. These goals envisage, not only the outstripping of capitalism by socialism in the highest levels of production and living standards, so that socialism becomes the predominant productive power in the world, but the accompanying advance of every form of human activity, social relations and cultural and moral standards, to the beginnings of communist society. In view of the inspiring grandeur of these goals, the suggestion is sometimes made to counterpose

these as the permanent positive achievements of the Congress to what are regarded as the accompanying, no doubt necessary, but by comparison negative aspects, such as the exposure of evils of the past period, destruction of symbols of those evils, the vehement denunciation of the already defeated 'anti-party group', or the public statement on the dangerous trends on the part of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour to depart from the agreed principles and policy of the international communist movement in respect of the correction of the previous distortions. It would, however, be a mistake to counterpose these two aspects of the work of the Congress as positive and negative aspects. They are inseparably united. The clearing of the old is the condition of the advance to the new.

A Great Renewal

During these recent years, after the triumphant accomplishment of the heavy task of reconstruction from the unparalleled devastation caused by the war (the true 'economic miracle' of the post-war era, accomplished from an infinitely heavier level of devastation, and without dollar subsidies), and after correction of the errors and distortions which had arisen during the preceding period, there has taken place especially during the five years since the Twentieth Congress, a gigantic renewal and new initiative in every field of socialist life. This renewal and new initiative has shown itself equally in the economic field; in the organisation of industry; in agriculture, with urgent measures to make up the lag, both by quantitative extension of cultivation to vast untouched areas and by raising productivity; in science and technology; in education and culture; and in revitalising and further developing party and soviet democracy. It was necessary to break through the straitjacket and rigidity derived from the conditions of the preceding period; and vast progress has been achieved in accomplishing this.

Battle of the Old and the New

It is no matter for surprise that such bold and far-reaching innovation in every field should meet with conservative trends of opposition. Consider, for example, such an issue as economic decentralisation. A manifestly indispensable reform in the present phase, in relation to the scale of the economy, is to break the log-jams and bottlenecks of over-centralisation. But it is only necessary to translate this change into personal terms, to see what an uprooting is involved, such as could easily give rise, in terms of the human factor,

to temporary tendencies of resistance or hostile criticism on the part of some of those concerned. If such innovation is taking place in every field, then it is not surprising that the battle for the new has had to be carried forward against the resistance of a variety of conservative trends or rigidity derived from the preceding conditions. In the living political situation, such conservative resistance found its expression in the role of particular leaders, who had had long records of past service, but who now had sought to place barriers, including by indefensible means of attempting to short-circuit the central committee, in the path of progress, and who consequently had had to be defeated by the central committee majority. For this reason the exposure and sharp denunciation of the 'anti-party group' in the Congress proceedings was no mere question of personalities, or fear of any strength of support for particular individuals, but an essential part of the battle for the new against any trends of conservative obstruction.

International Unity

Similarly in the international sphere. The sordid speculators in capitalist press on Soviet-Chinese differences can be suitably left to enjoy their speculations; they are inserting their greasy fingers and petty competitive calculations into a world they do not understand. Certainly in the modern international situation there is a sufficient complexity of contradictory factors to allow of variations of estimation in the emphasis on particular factors within a general common line of the Marxist-Leninist approach. Such questions were hammered out and unanimous agreement reached in the Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960. It is perfectly possible for further forms of such questions to arise with further developments in the international situation. Where such arise, they will be clarified with further discussion and in the light of experience. But the two parties concerned, the two major parties of the international communist movement, are experienced parties which have led great revolutions, and they understand very well the paramount necessity to maintain the indissoluble unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist family of nations. Very different is the situation which has arisen at the moment in respect of Albania, where the party only dates from the years of the second world war, and where a dangerous trend has arisen to repudiate the agreed principles of the 1960 Declaration, thus giving rise to the menace,

unless the trend is quickly corrected, of isolation from the unity of socialist nations and even the possibility of imperialist penetration.

Twenty-Second Congress and Peace

This Twenty-Second Congress is no sectional concern of the socialist third of the world alone, or of the international communist movement alone. It is a landmark and a beacon for all who are striving for the aims of socialism and human liberation all over the world. Above all, it is a powerful factor for the aims of peace. It has become manifest to observers of all political colours that the same dynamic new initiative which has been speeding forward the pace of advance within the Soviet Union has been no less tirelessly active in leading the way in the world arena to end the suffocating stranglehold of the cold war and the arms race and to mobilise support for negotiated settlements, disarmament and world peace.

Tests and Peace

In vain the enemy seeks to present the recent nuclear tests as a contradiction of this aim. In the concrete situation they have been an integral part of the initiative for peace. When each successive unilateral reduction of armaments and armed forces by the Soviet Union was met with successive increases and stepping up of the arms race by the West, and when the repeated proposals for peaceful negotiation to change the cold war outpost role of West Berlin were met only with noisy threats of nuclear war and demonstrative massing of nuclear arms on the socialist frontiers, it became essential to take precautionary measures, both for defence against such a nuclear war, and to show to its diehard advocates the suicidal hopelessness of their bellicose plans and the necessity to accept the path of negotiation. The possibilities for negotiation have now improved, though the dangers are still great, and the bellicose sections are still seeking in every way to obstruct negotiations.

Who Obstructs Peace?

It has now become increasingly evident, as we suggested in the September Notes, that the West Berlin question, which everyone knows is eminently negotiable and capable of a rational settlement satisfying every reasonable demand and interest of both sides save of those who want to maintain permanent war tension, has been utilised as a pretext by the Nato High Command and Pentagon (just as Dulles confessed he used the fictitious 'blockade' and superfluous

'airlift' in 1949), in order to step up the cold war, create an atmosphere of war hysteria, as shown in the United States shelter racket, and thus secure acceptance of vast increases of arms expenditure, extended conscription and partial mobilisation. General Norstad has now boasted that since the working up of the 'Berlin crisis' Nato forces have been increased by 25 per cent; while United States arms expenditure has been increased by six billion dollars or £2,143 million since January (*The Times*, November 9), and plans for a further increase are announced. While the critical Adenauer-Kennedy talks are still due to take place (at the time of writing), the new Adenauer Coalition Government, with Schroeder, the 1933 Nazi, as Foreign Secretary, has been formed on the basis of a compact whose main clauses are stated to be secret, but whose public terms proclaim a policy of digging in over West Berlin to prevent a peaceful settlement, with the obvious intention to use this as blackmail to secure nuclear arms for West Germany.

Action for Peace

Premier Macmillan stated in Parliament on November 14:

I am very hopeful that we shall get an agreed Western position. At that point negotiations can begin.

In other words the obstacle to negotiations, according to Premier Macmillan, comes from the West, from the discord between the Western powers, from the discord between the bellicose sections and the more realist sections in Western ruling circles. This is the situation which makes it all the more obviously imperative and urgent to intensify mass activity and every form of popular campaign to compel the immediate opening of negotiations for a peaceful settlement, recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and a peace treaty with the two German states. This objective is the most important next step in order to remove the immediate menace of a nuclear war over Berlin. At the same time we need to speed the advance to disarmament, and for social and political change at home, in order to clear the road to the new horizons which under these conditions could open out for all the world.

November 20, 1961

R.P.D.

*For a full understanding
of the significance and outcome
of the 22nd Congress of the Com-
munist Party of the Soviet Union*

you must read

the full texts of the major docu-
ments. These include

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Delivered by N. S. Khrushchov
100pp 1s

REPORT ON THE NEW PROGRAMME OF THE CPSU

Delivered by N. S. Khrushchov
100pp 1s

The new 20-YEAR PROGRAMME

*As amended and adopted by the
Congress*
approx. 120pp 1s

The new RULES OF THE CPSU

*Place your order with your usual
supplier NOW to ensure delivery
on publication*

CENTRAL BOOKS

37 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1

RIGHT-WING LABOUR

its Theory and Practice

Emile Burns

*A Socialist's guide to anti-socialist
policies.*

7s. 6d.

THE RULING CLASS

*A Study of British
Finance Capital*

S. Aaronovitch

*More and more power in fewer hands
—the facts of our economy today.*

12s. 6d.

THE BIG SELL

*Structure and Strategy
of the Mass Media*

Judith Todd

*How ideas are sold through the press,
cinema, radio, television and
advertising.*

5s.

AFRICA : THE LION AWAKES

Jack Woddis

*Companion volume to Africa: the Roots
of Revolt; on the national independence
movement throughout the continent.*

21s.

LAWRENCE & WISHART

LET NOT MY PEOPLE COME

D. N. Pritt, q.c.

ONE of the fragments of civil liberty still surviving in Britain is the right of every British subject (or Commonwealth citizen—the two phrases have the same meaning in law) to enter the United Kingdom; up to now we have held on to that bit of old-fashioned decency whilst every Crown Colony and Commonwealth government has abolished it. Claudia Jones, for example, when expelled from the United States as a British subject, found that, although she could not go to her native island of Trinidad, she could still come here. If the 'Commonwealth Immigration Bill' just introduced into Parliament by our 'freedom-loving' Government had been law at that time, she might have spent the rest of her life on a ship, the 'free' U.S. insisting on exporting her and 'free' Britain and all the 'free' Commonwealth refusing to receive her.

Why do the West Indians, for example, come here? Not for love of our climate. Not for love of Mr. Macmillan. They come because they starve at home, and see no hope of getting away from starvation if they stay there; the economies of their rich and lovely islands, which can grow almost everything, are rotting away under the Union Jack. (The whole problem could be solved by a little constructive development and encouragement of the West Indian economies; even the £500,000 which the administration of the Bill is estimated to be going to cost would give a start. But it is too much to hope, perhaps, of modern capitalism that it should pause in its expenditure of about £3,000,000 per hour on the means of mass murder to save 3,500,000 people from starvation.)

Why should they not come here? Will these few tens of thousands disrupt our 'never had it so good' economy, said to be 'as safe as the Bank of England'? They are as good as anyone else; they do not ask much of life; they work; and they do not undercut any British workers, for they are good and loyal trade unionists.

The Government legislation encourages the worst elements of the population, who are stimulating the most dangerous of latent prejudices, xenophobia and colour hatred—the pure Fascists (say rather '100 per cent' than 'pure'), the semi-Fascist elements in the Tory Party, and miscellaneous dirty-minded people who have not yet joined either of these groups but have the same ideas. The prejudices on which they operate, easily aroused and not so easily

stilled, are of the kind that have been exploited by anti-Semites and other reactionaries throughout the ages.

But why does the government not tell these people to be ashamed of themselves, and to behave properly? Or why does it not make the West Indies habitable, as I have mentioned above? There may be more reasons than one. They play the old trick of providing a lightning-conductor to divert the indignation of those who have 'never been had so good', and of persuading the British workers that the enemy is the people of colour and not the 'white' government and ruling class. Or it may be that they may have an obscure idea that, if they can destroy the value of one of the few remaining Commonwealth links, and thus reduce the value of the Commonwealth, they will somehow be betraying a little less when they come to sell the Commonwealth wholesale down the Common Market river to Adenauer and de Gaulle.

When one asks not 'Why?' but 'How?', and tries to see by what machinery the government sets about the dirty business of excluding coloured people whilst pretending that colour has nothing to do with it, one finds that 'the way of the transgressor is hard', or at any rate complicated. To express what they are setting out to do in the language, always obscure but generally effective, of modern legislation, takes them twenty-three pages of print in the Bill, and another three for the 'Explanatory and Financial Memorandum' which is attached to this Bill, as to most bills nowadays.

The attempt to exclude the West Indians (and others, especially Pakistanis, who share their colour and their poverty, and seek to enter the United Kingdom) is sought to be carried through in the Bill by starting with a control over the entry of *all* Commonwealth citizens except, firstly, those born in the United Kingdom, secondly, those who are 'citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies' and hold United Kingdom passports, and thirdly, those who hold United Kingdom passports *issued in the U.K.* even if they are not such citizens. That, the conspirators against civil liberty and common decency who compose the government must have thought, will hit substantially all the coloured people, and few others.

The conspirators' dilemma over the Irish finally destroyed all pretence that their Bill is not a colour bar. They were in a cleft stick. Forced first to act as though Eire was within the Commonwealth, then finding this utterly unworkable administratively without imposing passports on the inhabitants of the Six Counties, forced next to abandon the attempt to apply the Bill to the Irish at all, they

ended at one blast by losing their Colour Bill's figleaf and bringing their own anti-Irish backbenchers howling at their heels. They were left casting about them for some less unworkable device, although none could conceal their indecent exposure.

Then how is the actual prohibition worked? If you do not come within the exceptions I have stated above, the immigration officer may refuse you admission, or may admit you conditionally, *i.e.*, impose restrictions as to the time you may stay or the work you may do. The matter is not, at any rate on the face of it, left entirely to the immigration officer, for it is laid down that he *must* admit you (although he may still impose conditions) if you satisfy him that you want to come here to work, *and* that you have a voucher issued by the Ministry of Labour (it is also provided, 'naturally', that if you are so rich that you do not need to work, you may come in).

You are not quite safe even if you get a voucher; for the immigration officer may still refuse admission on medical grounds, or if he has 'reason to believe'—however untrue it may in fact be—that you have been convicted abroad of certain crimes, or—mark this!—if the Home Secretary thinks that it would be contrary to the interests of that most insecure of all things, 'national security', to admit you.

Obviously, much depends on the magic 'voucher'; it may prove, in practice, that most West Indians with vouchers, and very few West Indians without vouchers, will come in. So the most vital thing is to see what the Bill tells us about the vouchers. Who will get one? How does he go about it? What must he show by way of evidence to get one? What agent in Kingston or Port-of-Spain will prove to be best at the business of getting one? So much is going to depend on this; and one goes through the Bill to find what is said about it; one goes through all the 23 pages, the 21 sections, the three Schedules; and what does one find? The answer is almost incredible; one finds nothing. Nothing! Not a word! The Bill is as vacant on this point as the average Tory M.P. The very word 'voucher' never appears again in the Bill after its solitary mention given above; the matter is left completely at large for the officials of the Ministry of Labour to do as they like. The utmost we can find is in the 'Explanatory Memorandum', a paragraph which has no legal effect whatever, and is no more than a mere statement of intention by a government which has long since forfeited any right to ask anyone to believe its statement:

The intention is that vouchers . . . will be issued to persons who can show that they have a job to come to, to those who possess training, skill, or qualifications likely to be useful in this country, and to applicants

outside these categories subject to any limit which the Government may from time to time consider necessary.

Thus everything is sought to be removed from legislative control, and to be handed over to the virtually unchecked 'discretion' of a government department; and, with the knowledge that a voucher practically determines one's exit from starvation and that the grant of the voucher depends on unnamed officials in London, poor and inexperienced would-be refugees from starvation will be at the mercy of 'emigration agents' in the islands, some of whom will be honest and some of whom will be unscrupulous racketeers promising vouchers for payment; and the Ministry of Labour itself may deliberately pick and choose—on government policy-directions—so as to feed the poorly-paid industries in Britain with labour that they could not otherwise get, without raising wages, and to exclude men who might do more skilled work. (We shall have all the heartbreaks we had before the Second World War, when we were trying to get permits for Jewish and other refugees from Nazi oppression.)

There is plenty more in the Bill that is equally objectionable. One other bad feature is that any Commonwealth citizen, unless he was born in this country, or his father (but not his mother) was born here, or either of his parents was ordinarily resident here at the time of his birth (or unless he falls in one or two other quite small classes), can be recommended for deportation by any court which convicts him of *any* offence punishable by imprisonment—and there are of course thousands of trivial offences for which a punishment of imprisonment can be given. It is not much comfort to know that five years' continuous residence here before the conviction prevents the deportation. Where will he go, or what country will receive him, one does not know. He can ask Claudia Jones.

There are, too, some odd provisions about the examination of immigrants subject to the Bill who reach this country. They are bound to declare whether they are 'carrying or conveying any documents'; they are and their baggage may be searched for documents, and the documents may be detained for examination. Documents, it seems, now rank with infectious diseases and explosives! Well, well! Hitler and Goebbels hated other people's documents too.

Anyway, I hope that the Government will have the decency to remove the notices at present displayed in airports, 'welcoming' immigrants to Britain.

IMMIGRANTS AND CRISIS

Leo McGree

THE Immigration Bill is a grave warning to the whole British trade union and labour movement. Faced with the present economic crisis (the sixth since the Tories came to power in 1951) they are looking for a scapegoat. By limiting immigration, they create a situation aimed at dividing the working class.

Restricting immigration again presents the fascist elements in Britain with the ammunition for another spate of slogan chalking on the city walls of 'Keep Britain White' or 'Go Back to Ireland'. This fascist poison can be spread round the large industrial centres; exaggerated figures of the number of immigrants who come to this country to 'take the bread out of our mouths' are being quoted to divide the British workers and the immigrant workers. In Lancashire we know this well. The successful Tory candidate in the by-election at Moss Side, Manchester, last month pandered to the racist feeling which the fascist Union Movement candidate's campaign was designed to whip up. Earlier in Liverpool, during the municipal elections, the fascist candidate declared that British families were unable to obtain a house to live in, whilst the Corporation were granting houses to immigrants. Cartoons were distributed showing workers of many nationalities, outside the housing department receiving a tenancy, while the British worker was ignored. In his election address the fascist candidate demanded: 'Not a single immigrant of any kind shall be housed, while Britons wait on the housing lists'. At the labour exchanges meetings were held and the immigrant was described as the cause of the misery of unemployment. What this poisonous propaganda can do was seen during the racial riots at Notting Hill, which came as a great shock to many people who thought it could not happen here. Similar slogans deface the walls in some other districts in London. There have been the Middlesborough riots. Swastikas were painted on walls of slum property, outside factories and on the Royal Bath Hotel in Bournemouth. The viciousness of this feeling against the innocent immigrant shocked everyone, and filled us with disgust.

Let us examine the figures of immigration into Britain. In 1960 for every three who came to this country, two were white and one coloured. The largest group are the Irish with 72,962, second are British Colonials from Protectorates with 54,475, the third from

Commonwealth countries with 54,016, and fourth are the foreign nationals with 53,092. The total figure for 1960 was 236,135.

But that is only one side of the coin; the other side is that 130,000 British people emigrated to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other foreign countries. On Merseyside, following a survey of employment, social and recreational facilities for school leavers, the authorities had the effrontery to recommend the two following brilliant suggestions:

1. Sponsoring a recruitment campaign for Her Majesty's Services;
2. That serious consideration should be given by Commonwealth Governments desirous of stimulating emigration from this country to the possibility of expanding their existing schemes so as to encourage as many suitable young people as possible to accept the advantages that are offered by such Commonwealth countries.

The largest group of immigrants are the Irish men and women who are driven out of their native land by lack of jobs and hunger. Their country has been partitioned by British imperialism using the Black-and-Tan violence, backed by the British Army and Navy. In the 26 counties there is economic stagnation, no hope of a career or job for the youth of Ireland, and so they come to Britain. In the main it is the building industry, shipyards, transport for the men and the hospitals and hotel services for the women. But the coloured immigrants have a thousand times more problems even than the white. The colour bar prevents them obtaining lodgings except in the coloured quarters, where they will be exploited by white, and in some cases, coloured landlords. They will pay a high rent for the house or single room in a dilapidated slum, and are looked upon as inferior persons. (No one thinks about the white Christian landlord who sold this slum at an inflated price.) These slums often have a whole family in the one room and in a large slum three or four families per house. This overcrowding gives opportunity for questioning their morals, and then little further imagination is required before some of the houses are called brothels. In cities like London, Liverpool and Birmingham, we find the immigrant workers soon settle down in spite of open prejudice. They make good companions in the workshop and are eager to join the trade unions. In the building industry, the shipbuilding industry and in transport, coloured workers have shown themselves loyal and militant in the struggle for improved conditions in these industries. There are thousands of happy families of coloured and mixed marriages whose mode of life and morals would put to shame many who grace Ascot, Wimbledon or our Royal Garden parties.

The British working class must never forget that our British Empire was founded by the sword, and by the sword it was maintained. We drained the life blood of the colonies to make dividends and to use the colonies as a source of cheap raw materials, cheap labour and a dumping ground for our surplus commodities—and for soft jobs for our surplus aristocrats. British Governments did all in their power to prevent the workers in the colonies securing their freedom, by using the armed forces against any uprising.

Against these Tory manoeuvres, we must unite and fight for the unity of the British and colonial workers—equally for their national independence, and for our free, independent and Socialist Britain.

Forty Years Ago

Whatever settlement may be reached in Washington, will it settle the Chinese? . . . Will this settlement be the last word? Or will it not mean simply the concentration of the Chinese struggle into a single struggle against the forces of the foreigner and of capital at once, so that in China, too, as in region after region of Asia, the national consciousness becomes reinforced by a social consciousness into one gigantic movement of insurrection. This, and not the paper settlements of Washington, will be the force of the future of China. . . . Soviet Russia to the Chinese, as to the rest of Asia, represents the new force that has shown the way in the fight against imperialism: it represents the strange new Power that began its relations with China, not with fresh demands and extortions, but with renouncing simply and without conditions all the concessions and extortions of the Tsar. That in itself would be sufficient to give the Chinese an impetus hardly needed to look to Soviet Russia as their natural ally. . . . The inevitable inference is that the vast peoples of Russia and China (constituting close on one-third of the world's population) form at once the natural basis of a movement of the common peoples of the world against the schemes of parcelling out by the diplomatists and the financiers.

(From *Labour Monthly*, 'Notes of the Month', December, 1921.)

Without an understanding of this recent history it will be impossible for Labour to grasp the present trend of events; and, on questions of what they call 'foreign' affairs, Labour will remain the sport of the writers in the daily newspapers until once more, 'like flies, they kill us for their sport.' The significance of this period appears immediately in one thing, namely, that Europe during these forty years is best studied by going outside Europe. It is in Asia and Africa that we find the real meaning of what is happening to Europe.

(From Book Reviews: *Forty Years of Europe*: R. Page Arnot,
December, 1921.)

BRITAIN and the WORLD BANK

John Eaton

IT is hard to find the right word to describe Britain's economic situation. To speak of crisis is to suggest sharp or sudden change, whereas what is happening now is a slow 'pay-off' concluding a long drawn-out process. For a considerable time a number of superficial things, relatively favourable to the British economy, have masked the gravity of underlying issues; but now British capitalism itself is not making any serious attempt to disguise that its long-followed policy faces utter collapse.

The outside gains, which were intimately bound up with the U.K.'s past commercial dominance and with the world-wide rôle of sterling, have disappeared. . . . In a wider field the loss of invisibles is beginning to lead to a fresh and functional look at such long established concepts as the Commonwealth and the rôle of sterling. The U.K. share of Commonwealth trade has in fact been falling for many years; and the disadvantages—in terms of vulnerability to sudden shifts in world opinion—of having sterling as a world currency are being set more squarely beside the advantages. The decision to negotiate with Europe marks the beginning of a complete reappraisal of Britain's position in the world of trade. The disappearance of the invisible balance was almost certainly a factor lying behind that decision. *(Financial Times, September 13, 1961.)*

The realisation of British capitalism that it cannot continue indefinitely 'to stumble on some windfall or other when things look black' (which is how the August National Provincial Bank Review describes our recent economic history) has launched the British Government on what is intended to be a long-term campaign against the living standards of the British people. The July squeeze is, it is generally realised, the beginning of a prolonged operation. Already Government measures have succeeded in annihilating several hundred million pounds worth of social production by checking the development of our economy.

During the first half of 1961, real output and expenditure were rising at a rate of about 3 to 4 per cent per annum and in the absence of the Chancellor's restrictive measures in July, much the same rate of expansion would have been likely to continue through the rest of the year. It now seems that the growth of demand and output will slow down and probably level out for a time.

(National Institute Economic Review, September, 1961.)

It is the hall-mark of a played-out economic system that its policy decisions boil down to choosing between evils. Neither one course

or the other offers a solution and fundamental decisions tend to be settled by trivial current expediencies. For example, the decision of British capitalism to try to get into the Common Market tipped the way it did when it did probably because the Government wanted ready cash to sustain its international credit. It wanted to borrow heavily from the International Monetary Fund. United States capital wanted to see Britain in the Common Market partly as a cold war measure to avoid a split in the anti-socialist forces in Europe, but also to pave the way to some wider form of economic association in which the United States might assert herself and through which a too great independence for the German-led groupings of monopolies might be avoided. (Already in the United States the debate about relations with the Common Market is beginning, along with talk of a wider Atlantic Market, etc., etc.) Britain therefore agrees to go into Europe with American support and in this same period receives a giant loan from the International Monetary Fund, where the influence of the United States is considerable.

But there is more to it than that. The United States ever since the 'gold scare' last year has been wanting to bring under better control mechanisms of international finance and also to assert more effectively the power of its very great monetary resources. For a year or more the air has been buzzing with projects and proposals from American experts on international finance. And this September in Vienna some first practical steps were attempted at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. What the Americans want is to turn the I.M.F. into a sort of central bank for the whole of the capitalist world, having at its command resources sufficient to back, and so to control, fluctuations in the main international currencies. Deposits with such an institution might come to serve as backing for currencies and fulfil a role internationally analogous to that of, say the Bank of England supporting the paper currency of Britain. All this of course sounds most rational. But, as we all well know, control of the banks at the centre of a capitalist economy is the key to the predominance of 'monopoly capital'. Control of a 'central bank of the world' is a plum over which the fighting will be bitter. So it is not surprising that the Americans did not get what they wanted. No doubt British finance capital, not strong enough to make big claims for itself, will try to sell its 'know-how' and connections as a world banker for a good price; and so, for the time being, the United States can probably rely on British support for U.S. policy in the International

Monetary Fund particularly as, apart from the dollar, it is sterling that any new-found I.M.F. funds would be mainly used to support. The U.S. and Britain together dominate the I.M.F. having 37 per cent of the votes, corresponding to their original quotas. By contrast the 'six' from the Common Market have less than 17 per cent of the votes; and so Germany and France, who are being asked to put up additional resources for the use of the I.M.F., not surprisingly regarded the whole project with the greatest suspicion. They will, they assert, only agree to put up additional funds if they are allowed a say in how these are to be used in each specific case of a loan to another country:

A number of continental bankers are already saying that they have no intention of providing credit for the fund so that the United States can push out the money in aid, spent on its own exports, to Latin America. (*The Economist*, September 30, 1961.)

In these goings-on (less publicised than the Common Market) the conflict between the capitalist groupings is at present much in evidence; but that is not to say that, in time, no agreement will be reached. The general policy favoured by leading circles in the monopoly capitalist powers is, paradoxically enough, called 'liberalisation', that is a policy of relatively free monetary exchanges and reduction of tariffs within wide market areas. Each grouping is enthusiastic for liberalisation in the regions it can dominate, but less so about wider applications. The U.S. is the most 'liberal'—except in the U.S. itself—because it wants to enter the other market areas in Europe and the British Empire, intentions which Lord Hinchinbrooke rather illiberally described as follows:

There are some people in the United States, in the Pentagon, in the State Department, who find Britain and our Commonwealth just a little bit inconvenient. Nothing would please them better than for the jaws of the Common Market to open just wide enough to take Britain's head and shoulders and then snap shut at our waistline and allow the great appendages of Empire all over the world—this great maritime commonwealth on which we pride ourselves—to be quietly nibbled up.

(*Hansard*, May 18, 1961.)

The attachment of capitalist politicians to the philosophy of 'liberalisation' has also political aspects; for example, too much economic separatism would accentuate divisions in Nato, and to preach the gospel of 'the free world', to put on some showing of having reformed monopoly capitalism and of having shaken off its atrocious record of the inter-war years, it is necessary to pay court to some new—or at least different—economic doctrine. For such reasons,

the capitalist powers are likely to try to patch up some of the differences that divided them at Vienna.

The British Government in backing these American aims, in supporting what has come, rather misleadingly, to be called 'liberalisation', in turning toward the Common Market, is guided by fear of socialism and popular forces and a desire to maintain capitalism as a world system. The British Government favours what favours finance capital and the big capitalist concerns, the 'monopolies'. Free movement of capital, large markets, economic measures overriding the national legislatures—all such things will do nothing to solve the real economic problems of Britain, neither externally or internally. Nor will they solve the economic problems of the world. Commodity prices—what broadly speaking the economically less developed countries get for the raw materials they sell—go on down and down. The *Financial Times* index (23 per cent below 1952) touched almost a new record low level in November. Nothing in the disastrous policies being pursued by the British Government solves the problems from which our balance of payments difficulties spring. What they do is to reduce the national wealth and, still more, consumption. The whole conception of these policies is wrong. Is it in our interest to make it easier for speculators to move their funds about the world? And do we want the conduct of our economy to be dictated by international bankers?

The Fund's influence is already much stronger here than is openly admitted; when Dr. Jacobsson was in London in June for routine Article VIII consultations, one may be sure he made no secret of his views about what the Chancellor should do.

(*The Economist*, September 30, 1961.)

The price of satisfying our international creditors is already the 'little budget' and the 'wages squeeze'—which should be a fair enough warning to the Labour movement that when international financiers get together, more than technical issues are at stake.

The counter-part at home of these policies abroad—that is, deeper and deeper inroads into living standards—does nothing to help, but makes it more difficult for us to break away from the chronic stagnation, in particular the slow growth rates that have dogged Britain throughout the period of imperialism. The whole pattern of current British policy makes sense only if it is seen that its guiding thread, politically, is support for reaction (the cold war, fear of socialism, opposition to national independence), and, economically, freedom for large-scale private capital and finance capital generally.

Greetings to William G

On his 80th Birthday, December 25, 1961

IT is rare for anyone to become a legend in his lifetime. You, dear Bill Gallagher, were already a legend among us younger socialists half a century ago for your part in the stormy struggles on the eve of and during the first imperialist world war.



MORE than forty years have passed since you had occasion to explain to Lenin, who had immortalised you in his book as 'imbued with noble proletarian hatred for the bourgeois "class politicians"', that you were 'an auld hand at the game'. And indeed you had already a long record, from the days of the Social Democratic Federation and British Socialist Party, as a foremost revolutionary working class agitator and propagandist, a militant shop steward, and a leader of great mass movements, well acquainted with all the trials and tribulations of a true fighter in the cause of the working class—victimisation, imprisonment, batoning—and through it all carrying on the indomitable struggle 'with head bloody but unbowed'. In the foundation of the Communist Party you played a foremost rôle; and throughout the party's existence you have fulfilled your outstanding part in its leadership, today its honoured President. In splendid realisation of all that Lenin taught, you, the former leader of revolutionary anti-parliamentarism, became the revolutionary parliamentarian—the great tribune of the people for fifteen years proclaiming truth and defiance in the corrupt and slavish British Parliament from the age of Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain to that of Attlee and Bevin. What an unrivalled propagandist, both as a speaker and in your books and articles—so many of them in our pages, as your latest (page 580), for you have always been a close friend and counsellor of our journal from its foundation.



OUR thoughts go to you and to Jean on this happy anniversary. Today you continue to inspire us all with your unvanquishable spirit, your gaiety and wit, and your deep human feeling, united always with burning revolutionary passion, faith in the working class and glowing optimism and confidence in the communist future.

R. PALME DUTT.

cher



Portrait by R. T. F. Turner

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE CONGO?

Jack Woddis

NO analysis of recent events in the Congo is possible unless one takes into account all the main protagonists in this life and death struggle. On one side stand the people of the Congo, yearning and struggling for their long-awaited goal of real independence. Against them is arrayed the imperialist might of the western powers. But this imperialist grouping is itself divided, primarily between the United States on the one hand, and the Anglo-Belgian block on the other, allied with Sir Roy Welensky and the Northern Rhodesian copper companies. And at the heart of the struggle stands the wealth of Katanga, still firmly in the grip of *Union Minière*, in which the Belgian Société Générale and the British Tanganyika Concessions, holding jointly 30 per cent of the shares, have the decisive control. The other largest share is in the hands of the 'State', which in practice has meant the Belgian Government and the puppet, Tshombe.

It was to keep this wealth that the imperialists brought about the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues and suppressed the legal parliament. But these actions of the imperialists, though a set-back for the people, solved nothing. In fact they only served to heighten the understanding of the Congolese people and strengthen their resolve to complete their battle for independence. Thus in Stanleyville, under Gizenga's leadership, the legal government continued, a living expression of that national upsurge which had led to the independence declaration of June 30, 1960.

Throughout this period, the United States worked to destroy the legal government at Stanleyville, trying on every trick known to imperialism. But it continued to live and work and, when necessary, to fight. Meanwhile the demand for recalling the Congolese Parliament—which, in the context of the situation prevailing, was a demand for reasserting the Congolese people's sovereignty—mounted until it became impossible to resist. And when on July 26, 1961, the Congolese Parliament met again for the first time since Mobutu's illegal action, it was soon obvious that the genuine forces of the national movement, despite the loss of several leaders through brutal murder, were the strongest force. This had to be recognised by Kasavubu and those around him, as well as by the imperialists.

Clearly a new stage had been reached. It was significant that Mobutu, who a year previously had boasted that Parliament would 'never meet again', had to stand silently by while it reassembled and proceeded to elect leaders of the national movement to key posts both there and in the Senate. Arising from this recall, agreement was reached early in August to form a new Central Government. The mistrusted Ileo, who had been 'premier' in Leopoldville, had to step aside, and the premiership went to Adoula, a man who was evidently acceptable to both sides. The new government had to include many patriotic representatives of the national movement, with Gizenga as one vice-premier and Jason Sendwe, leader of the Balubakat Cartel (main opposition to Tshombe's Conakat in Katanga) as the other. The Ministry of the Interior went to another firm supporter of Lumumba's patriotic policy, Gbenye. Altogether, ten of the ministers held the same posts under Lumumba. At the same time Kasavubu remained President, the discredited Bomboko retained the Foreign Ministry, which is reported to be honeycombed with agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the French Sûreté and the Belgian secret police; and Ileo became Minister of Information. Moreover, Mobutu remained as Commander-in-Chief.

Clearly the new Central Government is the outcome of a compromise and further conflict between the two trends it has brought together will, in the long run, be inevitable. It came into being partly in consequence of two conflicting tendencies. The U.S. wanted a united central government, dominated by its own supporters, as a step to taking over Katanga and wresting the wealth away from Anglo-Belgian rivals, as well as keeping it out of the hands of the Congolese people. The genuine national forces in the Congo also wanted a united central government, but one led by Congolese patriots, in order to settle with Tshombe, end Katanga's secession, strengthen national unity and so uphold Congolese sovereignty. Thus two opposing forces—U.S. imperialism and the Congolese national movement—were both seeking outwardly similar aims for different purposes. In this situation, moreover, the strength of the national movement made it difficult for the U.S. to prevent the emergence of the new Central Government, backed as it is by both Congolese Houses of Parliament. It lost little time in declaring against the Katanga separatists and announcing its intention to march on Katanga and re-establish Congolese unity. Before it could move, however, the United Nations forces in the Congo, acting quite apart, clashed with the European-officered forces of Tshombe, and

thus set in train the new sequence of events which were to lead to the death of Hammarskjöld.

Why did the U.N. forces take action against Tshombe? First, because the U.S. rulers (in practice, the U.N. executives on the spot), did not fully trust the new Central Government. Its inclusion of many patriotic leaders, its declared intention to sweep away the Tshombe régime, its appointment of Davidson Boshele, a leader of the newly organised united party, the Lumumba National Party, as commissioner-general for Katanga, Premier Adoula's threats to nationalise the mineral wealth of the Katanga—all these were sufficient to make the U.S. apprehensive that the overthrow of Tshombe by Central Government forces could mean the loss of Katanga to all imperialist powers. Secondly, the U.S. felt that if it could bring Tshombe to heel, it would be in a stronger position to safeguard imperialist influence in Katanga, to dictate terms to the Central Government and thus to ensure a dominant position for U.S. influence. Thirdly, it was thought that by giving the Tshombe régime a jolt, it could be made 'to see reason', to send its representatives to the Congolese Parliament, perhaps secure posts in the Government, and thus, in general, give added strength to the compromising elements in Leopoldville. Fourthly, the demands for the U.N. to take action against the European mercenaries had become so insistent, especially by independent African states, that some show of action had to be put up.

But having initiated the action against Tshombe, why did the U.N. call its forces to a halt so quickly? And then agree to such a humiliating cease-fire agreement with Tshombe? One moreover, which has allowed Tshombe to retain his mercenaries, get back key buildings seized by U.N. forces during the action, and use airfields; and an agreement, which, by its very nature, has once again given him the status of a legal ruler of an independent State despite U.N. formal protests that it does not recognise such a State.

One must appreciate the forces that stand behind Tshombe. These are the real 'ultras' in the present situation. Within Tshombe's armed forces, in fact leading them, are French 'paras' like Roger Trinquier ('Say I am a fascist'), Belgian officers, British, South African and Rhodesian soldiers of fortune, and German veterans of wars against the peoples of Vietnam and Algeria. But behind these is the real power, the Anglo-Belgian imperialists, the unholy alliance of Société Générale, Tanganyika Concessions, the Northern Rhodesian copper companies, the British Tory leaders and Sir Roy

Welensky. French imperialist reaction, operating through Abbé Youlou, Premier of former French Congo across the river at Brazzaville, and Portuguese fascism, facing critical days in neighbouring Angola, are also deeply involved; and West Germany is in it up to the hilt, too. The Anglo-Belgian group, above all, are determined that the wealth of Katanga should not go to the people of the Congo, nor if they can help it, into the hands of Wall Street. Hence their stubborn defence of Tshombe and their open opposition to the U.N. action against their puppet. The intensity of the Anglo-U.S. conflict was strikingly revealed in the British press at the time of the U.N. action. The *Liverpool Post* denounced it as 'outrageous' and stated that there were 'strong reasons' for thinking that the U.N. had become 'the tool of American copper cupidity'.

But the moves to oppose the U.N. action in Katanga were not limited to articles and newspaper editorials. Lord Home flew to Washington to make the British Government's protest. Sir Roy Welensky moved troops up to the Northern Rhodesian frontier with Katanga. And Lord Lansdowne, British Under-Secretary of State, flew to Ndola. And it was in flying there for discussions with Lord Lansdowne and Tshombe—at Britain's request—that Hammarskjöld returning to the scene of his crime, was killed by the forces that murdered Lumumba. To keep this rendezvous Hammarskjöld had to fly over a thousand miles in open skies, from Leopoldville to Northern Rhodesia, at a time when Tshombe's European-piloted jets were freely shooting at U.N. planes. (Hammarskjöld's own plane had only recently been damaged by Tshombe's pilots.) He asked for an escort of three jet-fighters from the Ethiopian government; but there was inexplicable delay in obtaining permission for these to fly over British territory, either over Uganda or Northern Rhodesia. So Hammarskjöld journeyed without an escort, although it is reported that Tshombe, for his journey to Ndola, was given an escort by Welensky's government. On nearing Ndola airport, Hammarskjöld (perhaps scenting treachery) ordered his pilot not to land: It was too late. The plane exploded (a planted bomb? or bullets from an attacking jet?), and Hammarskjöld met his death. It may never be discovered who planted the bomb or fired the bullets. But there can be little doubt that the imperialist forces who were responsible for Lumumba's murder are equally responsible for Hammarskjöld's death. The fate of the two men shows the lengths to which these forces will go to protect their stranglehold on the wealth of Katanga.

It is therefore understandable that the U.N. operation went off at half-cock. A British United Press Correspondent, Ray Maloney, says that 'violent reaction overseas' to the U.N. attack in Katanga reached such a pitch that U.N. headquarters . . . ordered a halt to the plans while the whole situation was reviewed. The same U.N. officers claimed that the public statements of Sir Roy Welensky . . . and the support he received from both Britain and France, did much to force the U.N. to release the stranglehold which it had imposed on Katanga.

(*Guardian*, September 27, 1961.)

But quite apart from this stubborn opposition, the U.N.'s main pre-occupation was not to sweep the whole Tshombe edifice away, but to bring it into line; even to preserve it as a U.S. puppet instead of an Anglo-Belgian one. Hence U.N. representative Khiari's statement that the United Nations was 'not seeking to depose Mr. Tshombe' (*Daily Telegraph*, October 17, 1961). The U.N. forces in the Congo were compelled, partly by world pressure, partly by the Congolese people's movement, and partly through the influence of U.S. imperialism, to take some hesitant steps against Tshombe. Yet this action can in no sense be regarded as a last-minute act of conscience and honesty in the U.N. executive, nor as a genuine attempt to assist the Congolese people.

How then is the Congo crisis to be resolved? Tshombe's forces, largely the European 'ultras', are heavily armed. The Katanga air force has at its disposal nine Fouga jets, five Sabres, DC4 transports, five Dorniers (bought in Western Germany and transported via Brussels and Brazzaville or Northern Rhodesia according to press reports), and has a further 55 planes on order. The Central Government has no air force under its own control.

Here we come to the crux. From the beginning the situation has been bedevilled because the U.N. executive in the Congo has consistently refused to act in support of the legal Central Government, but insists on its own independent status in the Congo and tries to settle things in its own (*i.e.*, U.S.) interests. Just as the U.N. started the operation against Katanga on August 28 on its own, so after its cease-fire, it left the armed forces of the Central Government to attack on their own, without U.N. assistance, and especially without U.N. air support. The Central Government, meanwhile, was denied the right to acquire aircraft because of the insistence that all military materials for the Congo must come through the U.N.; yet Tshombe and his backers continue to build up their military might with impunity, in defiance of the cease-fire agreement.

Manoeuvres over the U.S. resolutions at the U.N. not least on

whether the Central Government should be allowed an air force and how the U.S. proposed to keep a grip on it, were characteristic of the whole situation—and brought Anglo-American conflict right into the open.

The Congolese people have many bitter struggles ahead. But the experience of the past eighteen months shows that any imperialist hopes of imposing a neo-colonialist solution on the Congo are doomed, in the long run, to failure. The instability of the Congo since 1960 is precisely a measure of imperialist failure, of its inability to have things its own way. In the past two years the Congolese people have suffered terrible set-backs. But they were never defeated. These courageous and determined people will yet have the final say and the unity and independence of the Congo, for which Lumumba sacrificed his life, will yet be achieved.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

New Orleans—The lash of economic reprisal cracked today over the families of white children attending school with a Negro girl. One white father lost his job and another was threatened with firing.

Marion McKinley said he was laid off his job because his two children attended Thursday. He was the third father to report the loss of his job since integration began November 14. It was learned the employer of another father of two children, Marvin Chandler, told him he would lose his job if his children kept going to the integrated school. White attendance at the school dwindled to 10 today, down from Tuesday's high of 23. The 10 were escorted, for the first time, by deputy marshals.

(Vancouver Sun, December 9, 1960.)

Why Not By Post?

To make sure of your copy early, why not have it sent by post? For only 9s. for six months or 18s. per year, you can have your copy regularly by the first Monday of the month.

Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

THE LESSON OF WELSH STEEL

C. Roderick

WHEN the Steel Company of Wales, on St. Patrick's Day, 1958, presented the bricklayer members of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers with a 28-day ultimatum intended to destroy hard-won working conditions, I do not think they believed that on October 28, 1961, they would have to suffer a defeat.

All the other nine trade unions with members employed in this, the biggest steelworks in Europe, knew that the bricklayers were the most highly organised section in the plant. The management likewise knew that they had taken on a struggle that would be a trial of strength.

At the same time, everyone knew that the conditions the management had picked on for attack were of key importance to the bricklayers. Many joint meetings took place between 1958 and the final date of deadlock on September 12, 1961, when negotiations failed to impose a new agreement on the men, which would have meant that the bricklayers would have to work a 42 hour 21 shift system, as against a 19 shift system. It would have meant, too, that a bonus tonnage system would replace a system of bricks per hour whilst repair and maintenance of furnaces under very hot conditions would be continued. For many years it had been agreed that these 'hot jobs', working on furnaces under hot conditions, would carry not only extra pay but the principle of 'job and finish'. This entitled the bricklayer to clock out as soon as the job was done while being paid to the end of the shift. The management were determined to have a new agreement which would make the men work longer hours under worse conditions, at an average loss in wages of between £8 to £9 a week with the termination of the 'Job and Finish' system. The showdown finally came when the management suspended three bricklayers and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers thereupon declared the dispute an official strike. From then on the struggle sharpened; and as time went on the other trade unions in the plant, the S. Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers, and the public rallied to the fight of the bricklayers.

The other trade unions with claims pending knew that if the bricklayers suffered a defeat, then their negotiations in the future on claims would be a bitter struggle. To quote a pamphlet issued by the Strike Committee:

Make no mistake about it: if the company can get away with this then trade unionism is finished as a strong organised body in these works. At the moment the bricklayers are only an excuse on the management's part for total war on the trade unions.

Brothers, do your duty as trade unionists and refuse to work with, alongside or servicing in any way jobs that are being done by blacklegs; by doing this you will be supporting and strengthening your future in this works.

We do not ask you to fight our battles for us; but this is not our fight any more but yours, ours and everyone's. Unity has always been strength and always will be strength. As one body the S.C.O.W. dare not attack you.

The bricklayers' mates at the Steel Company of Wales, organised in the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, gave a demonstration of real trade union unity and solidarity and stopped work too, despite official advice from their union to return to work and go to arbitration. The management sought blacklegs to do the labourers' work, amongst staff personnel. Appeals to stop this early began to succeed. Following an initiative of the Shop Stewards Committee of the Electrical Trades Union, endorsed by a mass meeting of their members, aimed at getting 'complete unity in so far as the whole trade union movement is concerned', the bricklayers' national officers officially approached the other unions to request them to tell the management they would not 'operate on "black work"'.

The Strike Committee also wrote to many local organisations. Valuable support came from the South Wales miners. A delegate conference held on October 16 'decided unanimously to declare its solidarity with your Organisation, in their struggle to maintain their standard of life, and resist the attack made by the Steel Co. of Wales on their living standards. We pledge our support in every way possible to make a successful conclusion to your struggle'.

The unions with members in the plant besides the bricklayers' union, the Iron & Steel Trades Confederation, and the Electrical Trades Union, include the Engineers, the Boilermakers, the Painters, the Blastfurnacemen, the Woodworkers and the Transport workers and Plumbers. During the dispute their members could see clearly that the Steel Company of Wales wanted to give the bricklayers a 'hiding'. They began to see too that the attack of the management was all part of the general offensive of the Tory Government on

the working class, in line with the policy of the Government to join the Common Market, the wage 'pause' and increase in health charges, not forgetting the 'tea break' issue in the building industry and the struggle in the motor industry.

As for the bricklayers' mates, their action to support the 'brickies' was a more correct policy in the present position than that put forward by their General Secretary, Mr. Harry Douglass, at the Portsmouth Trades Union Congress. For Mr. Harry Douglass, in opening the debate on the economic situation, had complained that the Chancellor had encouraged the advocates of direct action as the efficient argument in industrial disputes.

If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was worried about the situation, why did he not call in the General Council, put the facts on the table, and ask what could be done about them? This great movement has never failed to face up to the facts of life, never failed to respond to an appeal for responsible action. Why didn't he do that instead of slapping in the face those leaders of the trade union movement who have been called right-wing and have advocated arbitration rather than strike, and who had done the best they could to put this country's industry on a sound footing?

(The Guardian, September 6, 1961.)

Would Mr. Harry Douglass go to arbitration to try and defend a cut in wages, worse working conditions, longer working hours, when his members had enjoyed these conditions for ten years, in the present political and industrial climate created by the Tories?

At Portsmouth he had claimed that he would not accept that wages in real terms were lower in Europe than in Britain. He gave figures showing that in Common Market countries steel industry hourly wage costs were higher than in the United Kingdom. Let him take a look at the following figures of profits:

Profits: Steel Company of Wales	1958	1959	1960
Gross Trading Profits ...	£22,684,000	£24,053,000	£30,479,092

The 1960 profit of £30,479,092 equals £1,218 per year or £23 per week for every one of the 25,000 members. Some £23 millions of this gross profit was put to various reserve funds, depreciation, fixed assets, replacement reserve, taxation and payment of interest on debentures and loans. After all this the profit for 1960 was £7,026,891 (an increase of £3,797,741 over last year). This net profit after tax and reserves, etc., equals £5 6s. per week per head of every employee. Dividends paid out were increased to £3,062,500, which equals £2 6s. per week per employee. This still left a further £3,964,391 to be put into the business in addition to all the reserves already provided. In 1956 (the last year the Company was under

nationalisation) the Government drew only £390,000 in ordinary dividends on its holdings. Since de-nationalisation, the private shareholders are getting eight times as much. These figures are from Company statements in the *Western Mail* and *Financial Times*.

Here are facts which prove how just was the fight of the bricklayers, and what a great step forward for militant action. The Steel Company of Wales are determined to keep the steel industry de-nationalised whilst maintaining and increasing profits, by soaking the nationalised coal industry no less than by attacking their workers' wages and conditions.

The bricklayers, supported by their mates and thousands of other members of Mr. Harry Douglass' union, together with those of the other unions involved, know better how to put this industry—and the whole country's industry—'on a sound footing'.

This was a historic victory from which the whole movement can profit.

The Role of Socialist Journalism

The Judges of our 40th Birthday Essay Competition, John Berger, Sir Richard Coppock, G. Allen Hutt, J. E. Mortimer and D. N. Pritt, Q.C., will make their report on the winning entries in our January issue.

Give them a corrupt House of Lords, give them a venal House of Commons, give them a tyrannical Prince, give them a truckling Court, and let me have but an unfettered Press, I will defy them to encroach a hair's breadth upon the liberties of England.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

If ever there was in the world a thing completely perverted from its original design and tendency, it is the Press of England; which, instead of enlightening, does, as far as it has any power, keep the people in ignorance; which, instead of cherishing notions of liberty, tends to the making of the people slaves; and which, instead of being their guardian, is the most efficient instrument in the hands of those who oppress, or wish to oppress, them.

William Cobbett, *Political Register*.

This newspaper hastened to declare in its leading article that 'in short, we stand for absolute freedom in thought and action, unfettered by party ties of any description.' A socialist newspaper that repudiates all party ties is the best characteristic of the deplorable state of political organisation of the working class in England.

V. I. Lenin on the *Daily Herald*, 1912.

IN CRISIS AND WAR

William Gallacher

NO other body of workers or workers' organisation have had such a dour, stubborn, tragic, heroic history as the miners and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. All this is amply demonstrated in the third volume of their official history, *The Miners in Crisis and War*.^{*} And what lessons it holds, not only for the miners but for the whole working class under attack today, as British capitalism twists and turns to weaken the workers and their organisations, to push on to their shoulders the ugly burden of crisis and war. This book tells the story of fourteen hard and difficult years, the eight years leading up to the Second World War and nearly six years of war-time. It begins with the miners and their organisation fallen on evil days, oppressed and divided. It ends with the mining industry transformed in the course of the war; and with the Federation of many district and county organisations also transformed—at long last—into a single union for mineworkers.

When the story opens in 1931, just thirty years ago, the miners were haunted by closed pits and whole coalfields half idle. They were harried out of their homes, they were driven from their villages. Those who remained saw their families broken up, their children ill-nourished and robbed of opportunity. They were treated like second-class citizens, for whom the monstrous inquisition of the Means Test was invented by callous bureaucrats—bureaucrats together with the sprinkling of university dons who are always ready to do the dirty work of the capitalist rulers. Then as now the mining industry was used as a milch cow. Then, however, it was the coal-owners linked up with the steel magnates. Now it is monopoly state capitalism that delivers the blows at the miners and this vital industry.

The coalowners had deliberately set themselves to the task of destroying the Miners' Federation—and they very nearly succeeded. They had broken off all discussion with, or recognition of, the Federation; they forced a whole series of different agreements on the districts. They went further; they set out to disrupt all independent organisation in the coalfields. The employers set up and subsidised yellow unions—company unions, like that bossed by Spencer in Nottinghamshire—to break up trade unionism in the

^{*}*The Miners in Crisis and War : A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (from 1930 onwards)*, by R. Page Arnot. Allen & Unwin. 452 pp. 42s.

industry. Spencer unions were set up in most counties—everywhere except in places where it was not worth the employers' while, because right-wing opportunist leaders were on top and all too ready to truckle to them. Where there were leaders so little capable of putting up a fight, or even a show of a fight, the employers had no need to spend their money on Spencer unions. (I am sorry to recall that in the thirties the Scottish coalfield was one of those places; what a change, when the workers were free to put men like Abe and Alex Moffat at the head of their union.) As a result of this two-fold attack membership had fallen from over nine hundred thousand in 1920 to 529,958 by the end of 1930.

Then we are given the record of how the miners turned for help against the coalowners to the second Labour Government, seeking the protection of a new Minimum Wage Bill, whilst they gathered their forces. But the Labour Government replied anxiously: Would the owners agree? They would not! And so, would the Labour Government therefore compel the owners? As well ask Ramsay MacDonald and his cabinet to take a chunk of meat out of the jaws of a hungry tiger as ask him to fight the coalowners. But despite the accumulation of troubles the Federation leaders, loyally backed by the depleted membership, doggedly kept fighting for increased wages and for national recognition. Besides these, two other tasks lay before them, the fight against Spencerism and the battle to transform the Federation into a national union. In 1931 the President, Tom Richards, full of honour, passed quietly to rest and the Vice-President, Ebby Edwards, was elected to occupy the post. Then the Secretary, A. J. Cook, passed away and Ebby who had actually been carrying on the work for some time, was elected as permanent secretary.

Many urgent matters confronted the miners and their leaders. The long correspondence between Ebby Edwards and Ramsay MacDonald given in the book shows a masterly understanding on the part of Ebby of the difficulties that were holding back the proper organisation of the mining industry, and, as a consequence, keeping down the wages of the miners. He had the measure of the shifty, shoddy, trickery of the former god of the labour movement. There was much that the miners had to face, under Ebby's leadership, including the terrible tragedy of the Gresford Colliery disaster. There was the historic dispute at Harworth Colliery which brought the fight against Spencerism to a head, while the local officials of the Federation made a heroic stand against coalowners, Spencerists

and exceptionally brutal police action. Finally the Federation secretary and his executive forced the issue to a showdown which led to the elimination of the company unions. The vicious two-year sentence on Mick Kane and other local leaders arising out of the Harworth dispute created very bitter feeling in the district and throughout the country. It opened the eyes of many of the miners who had been led astray by Spencerism, and showed that whole generation of workers the role of the law courts in a class society.

One most important factor in unifying and gradually building up the strength of the miners from the low state to which they had been reduced was the great wages struggle, the campaign for the Miners' Two Bob. And what a test of sincerity was the degree of devotion with which it was fought! It soon sorted out the right-wing opportunists. When it was at its height I was elected to the House of Commons for the first time as Member for the mining constituency of West Fife. I have been connected with the miners ever since I began agitating as a socialist speaker in mining villages nearly sixty years ago; but the first time I was able to speak for them in the House of Commons was on December 4, 1935, when I campaigned for the Miners' Two Bob in my maiden speech. (It made history, too, by getting under the Tories' skin to such a pitch that they started to interrupt me, in breach of the traditional smooth reception of a maiden speech.)

In these years the miners were deeply concerned with what was going on outside these islands too as the record shows. With fascism in Italy being followed in 1933 by Hindenburg handing over to Hitler and the Nazis, there was an ever-increasing threat to peace. Ebby Edwards was the Federation representative on the Miners' International Conferences and throughout played a leading part in the fight against fascism and war. The record of the Federation in aiding their fellow miners who were victims of fascism and above all in the Civil War in Spain is one which every miner, and every British worker, should read with pride, again and again.

Such is the story of the first half of the book, the eight years essential for understanding the miners' position in and after the war. The second half is the story of the war years. For the miners the key was the struggle to get the fullest consideration given to the operation of the mines and to the remuneration of the miners. Control Boards were set up and through two awards, the Greene award in 1942 and the Porter award in 1944, the miners' wages, underground, were brought up to £5 per week. The control Boards,

however, raised a problem, the problem of 'Dual Control'. The Boards had control of the pits and were responsible for increasing coal production; but the managers operating for, and paid by, the coalowners had control and bossed the mineworkers—in many cases very badly. I spoke a lot in Fife and other Scottish areas attacking this Dual Control and insisting that men and management be put at the service of the Board. I was invited to meet the Board in Edinburgh and to explain to this body what it was all about. The Chairman, Lord Traprain, said that he and the other two members, Carlow Reid, formerly managing director of the Fife Coal Co., and James Barbour, a former county official of the Federation, were very interested to hear what I had to say. Then Carlow barked, 'Come on, Gallacher! Cards on the table. What's all this you've been saying about Dual Control?'. I explained how unworkable it was. Traprain and Barbour listened with keen attention, but not so Carlow Reid. He exclaimed: 'A lot of damned nonsense'. I looked at the others and said: 'That reminds me of a passage in Ponsonby's book about his father, who was private secretary to Queen Victoria. When they went to Balmoral Castle, an old lord always claimed the right to read the lesson from the Bible when there was a religious service in the Castle. On one occasion he ended the reading with: "It is easier for the camel to pass through the needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, a lot of damned nonsense, let us pray".' Carlow, who had shut his mind to anything I was saying, immediately retorted, 'Well, if it's in the Bible it's true'. He could not understand what we were laughing about. Later on, the same Carlow Reid was chairman of the mining Commission that submitted the Reid Report, which just stopped short of nationalisation, but did prepare the way.

It is impossible in a short article to give more than a brief review of these fourteen years of struggle, so rich in lessons for the working class, and told by Robin Page Arnot with such rich scholarship and skill. He gives warrant for every single statement, with utmost care, despite the tremendously voluminous record, which must have entailed years of painstaking research. Yet it is intensely readable because of his mastery of the art of making everything alive and interesting. So he succeeds in a field where many have failed. Arnot explains his method in his Preface: it is to use the actual words of the delegates in speeches and resolutions. In so doing he makes a most skilful and balanced selection of key passages.

This volume ends with the formation at last of one union for the

mineworkers. And how long belated that was! The truth is clear; right-wing leadership in most of the coalfields not only hampered the development of the full fighting policy in the Federation, but also held back for many a year the accomplishment of a single miners' union. Naturally this being the official history, told from the official records, cannot go into some of the personal recollections or private records, such as the late Ebby Edwards could provide in abundance. So from the book we only get an occasional glimpse of the jealousy and parochial behaviour of some of the right-wing leaders—not least those petty chieftancies in Scotland, who could get on so cosily with the employers in their own backyard. Indeed, it was under the cloak of parochialism or 'local patriotism' that these right-wing leaders hampered the coming together of all mineworkers into a single union for so long. Thus it was that they hindered the creation of an organisation which, given a correct policy, could have so much earlier raised the miners out of their appalling conditions into which they had been driven.

The Foreword, signed by the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, refers to the Second World War, and 'how strenuously the miners fought to avert that terrible disaster; they must strive with even greater zeal in the new dangerous situation that menaces their lives, their homes and their families'. It is shocking that the miners should now, as a consequence of right-wing leadership, be lined up with the tories of Britain, the tory multi-millionaires of America, with De Gaulle and Adenauer, against their fellow-workers and fellow-miners of the Soviet Union. High time for the miners to change this unnatural and appalling situation.

THE GOLD STANDARD

When we are victorious on a world scale I think we shall use gold for the purpose of building public lavatories.

(Lenin: 'Importance of Gold Now and After the Victory of Socialism'.

Pravda, November 7, 1921.)

An aircraft load of the newest status symbols was flown from Newcastle to Paris today. Instead of cars and wide screen television sets, smart sets are buying plug holes, bathroom taps, and toilet fittings—in 24-carat gold.

(*The Times*, September 16, 1961.)

BOOKS

Eastern Europe in the Post-War World

Hubert Ripka, with an introduction by Hugh Seton-Watson

Methuen & Co., Ltd. 266pp. 25s.

THE MAIN THESIS of this book is that, from Munich onwards, the Soviet Union has pursued an 'imperialist' policy, aimed at the regaining of all Tsarist Russia's 'lost territories'—and more. Ripka seems to be sorry, in retrospect, that the Western Allies gave material aid to the U.S.S.R., without which, he pretends, the latter could not have won the Battle of Stalingrad, a victory from which he dates Stalin's alleged 'plans not only for the recovery of his territorial winnings in the early days of the war, but also for increasing them', i.e. by 'the domination of East Central Europe.' Then, conveniently forgetting about that 'Second Front' which took so long to materialise, he remarks wistfully: 'It cannot be doubted that had the Western, and not the Soviet, armies occupied Berlin, Prague and Vienna, Soviet influence in Central Europe would have been considerably limited'—poor Ripka, he did his best, I know, when he was representing his Government in London, to arrange that the Americans should 'double-cross' them by having Prague 'liberated' by General Patton before the Soviet and Czechoslovak armies could fight their way through, just as he tried later, in February, 1948 (*vide* page 256 of his book *Czechoslovakia Enslaved*), to persuade President Benes to provoke something of the kind.

The main argument of the book is, however, that the present régimes

of the countries of 'East' Central Europe were imposed by the Soviet Union, against the will of the peoples, and to their detriment. This is best answered, I think, by quoting what he himself wrote earlier on this subject, in his book *East and West*, published in 1944: 'It would be a cardinal error to imagine that these radical changes are, or will be, the result of the wishes, pressure or intervention of Soviet policy. Radical reform of the political régimes and social structures of these countries will be the inevitable consequence of the wishes, the aspirations, the endeavours and the struggles of the peoples themselves . . . and their inclination to the Soviet Union or to any other Allied Great Power will be greater or lesser according to the degree of sympathy or antipathy which they find in those countries for their own aims and interests.'

The Atlantic Powers must, he now advocates, 'declare emphatically that they consider both German reunification and the restoration of the freedom and independence of the nations of East Central Europe fundamental conditions of any political

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(3s. 6d. a line, minimum, 10s. 6d. Cash with order to: 'Class. Ads.', *Labour Monthly*, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.)

DUPLICATING, Verbatim Shorthand, Typing (tapes, etc.), Translating. Mabel Eyles, 10, Beaconsfield Road, London, N.11. ENT 3324.

VETERAN L.M. readers: your early copies and pamphlets may be invaluable to others. Send details to: L.M. Exchange Service, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

WE BUY books, pamphlets, Lab. Mvt., Spain, Russia, Comintern. We collect. The Hammer-smith Bookshop, Beadon Road, W.6. RIV 6807.

READER requires Papers and Pamphlets on Industrial Unionism. Box No. 17.

FULL-TIME POST offered. For extension of *Labour Monthly* sales, especially in trade union branches, etc. Must have knowledge of labour movement.

URGENTLY REQUIRED—All back numbers of *Labour Monthly* from 1921-1930 inclusive and 1939.

settlement or agreement with Russia.' Strange words to come from the pen of an erstwhile Czech nationalist and patriot, who wrote prophetically in 1944 (in his book *East and West*) of some Central and Eastern European politicians: 'They assume that Britain and America will be unable to suffer Russia to be predominant on the continent of Europe, and will strive after the war, to curtail her power, and later to effect a "reasonable adjustment" of the Soviet "annexations."' Anyone cherishing hopes of this nature is simply speculating on a new world war; and the realisation of such plans necessarily presupposes an alliance between the Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany, since without Germany they cannot be put into effect. Even if these schemes succeeded, and Russia were compelled to yield, the nations of Central and South-Eastern Europe would inevitably come under German rule. Those who harbour such ideas are simply preparing the way for a new German *Drang nach Osten*. And that danger menaces not only Soviet Russia, but first and foremost, the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe and, ultimately, the West and the entire world.' Out of his own mouth . . . *ipse dixit*.

CDR. EDGAR P. YOUNG,
R.N., Retired.

Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875

P. H. J. H. Gosden

Manchester University Press. 262pp.
32s. 6d.

READERS could be forgiven if they thought the following quotation was the latest Tory Bow Group pronouncement: 'It cannot, I venture

to say, be too constantly borne in mind that self-help and self-reliance are the only sure guarantees for social, national and, may I add, moral progress. Legislation which encourages people rather to rest on state-help than to rely upon themselves will prove incalculably mischievous in the end'. But no, it was said in 1880 by the Postmaster General in connection with the Friendly Society Movement which by that time had acquired both 4 million members and respectability in the eyes of the ruling class. It had not always been so. In the early years of the last century there was considerable feeling that the Friendly Societies were subversive and dangerous. In his absorbing book Mr. Gosden traces the growth of the societies and the changes in attitude that accompanied that growth.

In the 19th Century the Friendly Societies were the only channel through which the workers could attempt to insure themselves against destitution arising from sickness or death. In return for individual contributions the Societies provided some sort of sickness benefit and funeral expenses, the only other alternative facing the workers was recourse to poor law.

But the movement faced the ruling class with a dilemma. The ideal labourer was one who paid for himself in times of sickness and so reduced the demands on the poor rate; indeed the preamble to the Friendly Societies Act of 1819 said so in so many words: 'whereas the habitual reliance of poor persons upon parochial relief, rather than upon their own industry, tends to the moral deterioration of the people, and to the accumulation of heavy burthens upon parishes; and it is desirable, with a view as well to the reduction of the assessments made

for the relief of the poor, as to the improvement of the habits of the people, that encouragement should be afforded to persons desirous of making provision for themselves or their families out of the fruits of their own industry. . . . On the other hand the societies could be dangerous; for one thing, their funds could be used to support strikes. The Town Clerk of Kidderminster, for example, had complained in 1817 that the striking weavers of that town had used their Societies' funds as strike pay. 'I am fearful as they have found such funds useful to them, that they may materially increase them and use them at some future combination.' The solution to the dilemma proposed by some theorists was compulsory insurance through a Government supervised system. Such a system was not to be introduced for another hundred years. By that time the workers had won the right to organise in trade unions, and the Friendly Societies had acquired an interest in the *status quo*, fighting against state encroachment.

The period covered by this book ends long before the introduction of the first national health insurance scheme. But it is very illuminating, not just as a careful study of one aspect of 19th century working class life and struggle, but also as a study of the ruling class theories of 'self help' which were developed at this period and laid the basis for our present national insurance scheme. It is salutary to observe how closely the Bow Group's present approach resembles that of the moralising gentry of the 19th Century.

KATHERINE HOOD.

New Dimensions in Foreign Policy

Max Beloff

Allen & Unwin. 208pp. 25s.

THE publisher's dust cover says this is a 'contribution to the understanding of contemporary international institutions'. Or, as the author says, it describes Western preparations against what is called 'the threat from the alternative system of world communism' (p.II). Since not a word is said about this 'alternative system' or the nature of its 'threat', we are left with a tedious catalogue of Western organisations and the negotiations which gave them birth. It is indeed strange that, in a book supposed to be studying contemporary international institutions, the index contains not one reference to Russia, the U.S.S.R. or the Soviet Union, though several to the U.S.A.; not one reference to Stalin, though Attlee, Bevin, Churchill and Truman all receive notice; not one reference to disarmament; not one to communism. Most people would agree, I think, that at least one 'new dimension' in world affairs is the existence of the U.S.S.R. and its peace policy; the socialist camp and its peaceful challenge; and that any study of Western policy that religiously ignores such matters is indeed Hamlet without the Prince. A much more truthful title would have been 'A Study of Western Institutions in the Cold War' with the sub-title 'Without a Word on What it is All About'. Far from offering the reader any light on the 'new dimensions' of the international scene since the last war, this picture is as if composed by a man looking with one eye through blinkers.

PAT SLOAN.

Correction. Page 537, line 34. For 'of' read 'and'. Page 539, line 26. For 'America' read 'Jamaica'. Page 540, line 41. For '1963' read '1962'.

Index to Volume XLIII

I—AUTHORS

	Page
ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES CONFERENCE	276
APTHEKER, H.	
ARNISON, J.	
ARNOT, R. Page	
AZIKIWE, THE RT. HON. DR. Nnamdi, P.C.	
BACON, SIR Francis	
BAIRD, J., M.P.	
BALLANTINE, W.	
BELCHER, P.	
BERGER, John	
BERLIOZ, J.	
BERNAL, PROFESSOR J. D.	
BERROW, T.	
BOND, R.	
BOWMAN, D.	
BRADLEY, DR. D.	
BRENT, D. J.	
BRIDGES, G.	
BROCKWAY, Fenner, M.P.	
BRYAN, D.	
BUCK, Tim	
'CALIBAN'	
CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT	
CONNICK, B.	
COPPOCK, SIR Richard	
CURTIS, G.	
DADOO, DR. Y. M.	
DAVIDSON, J.	
DAVIES, S. O., M.P.	
DELEGATE, A.	
DOBB, M.	
DOWN, M.	
DRIBERG, T., M.P.	
DUKES, C.	
DUTT, Clemens	
DUTT, R. Palme	
What is Neo-Colonialism? (Resolution) ...	276
Greetings ...	341
The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ...	177
A Great Chinese Anniversary ...	301
This Wonderful 'Free World' ...	302
Africa Speaks ...	321
Father of English Materialism ...	24
Greetings ...	345
Transport: An Exercise in Expediency ...	163
Greetings ...	345
Vulgar Imperial Fractions ...	64
Problems of Socialist Art ...	135, 179
Myself When Young ...	339
A Fable ...	541
Greetings ...	342
The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ...	173
Greetings ...	346
The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ...	174
Art No Luxury ...	35
The T.U.C. Leadership ...	215
The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ...	174
Aden: Oil or Independence? ...	31
Conferences: Next Round ...	327
Greetings ...	346
China's Seat in U.N. ...	223
Greetings ...	342
What Now in the Caribbean? ...	537
Two Resolutions ...	175
The Young Welsh Miners ...	481
Greetings ...	346
Union Branches: Factory or Local? ...	222
Greetings ...	342
And Peace Shall Prevail (R*) ...	192
Greetings ...	346
Signposts—or Windmills? ...	465
Engineers! What Happened ...	260
Greetings ...	347
An Epoch-Making Book (R) ...	487
Labour's Problem Child? ...	131
Malta and the <i>Labour Monthly</i> (Letter) ...	236
German Youth and Peace ...	39
Brand X Reformism (R) ...	336
History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (R) ...	496
A Programme for Mankind ...	1
What is 'Neutralism'? ...	49
New Horizons? ...	97
What is Defence? ...	145
Storming Heaven ...	193
What is Unity? ...	241
Forty Years On ...	290
Gulliver's New Travels: ...	401
1. Berlin and the New Arms Race ...	402
2. Common Market Cage for Ageing Lions ...	409
3. Battle for the Future ...	414
Peace and Power ...	449
1. Blackpool-Brighton-Moscow ...	497
2. Right or Left at Blackpool? ...	500
3. Lessons for the Left ...	504
After the 22nd Congress ...	545
Open Letter to Robin Page Arnot ...	26
Open Letter to William Gallacher ...	568
The Economic Outlook ...	122
Britain and the World Bank ...	564
The Non-Manual Worker ...	167
The Adventurers (R) ...	92
Greetings ...	347
Greetings ...	348
EATON, J.	
ELVIN, G.	
EVANS, D. D.	
FOOT, M., M.P.	

*(R) stands for Review throughout.

	Page
FOULKES, F.	Address to the Electricians ... 433
FRANCIS, H.	Cultural Exchanges Need Equality ... 440
GAGARIN, Yuri	The First Cosmonaut Speaks in the Red Square ... 208
GALLACHER, W.	Greetings ... 348
	In Crisis and War (R) ... 580
GHOSH, Ajoy	Greetings ... 343
GILES, G. C. I	The Teachers' Lesson ... 530
GOLLAN, J.	Greetings ... 348
GOOLD, B.	What I Want to See Conference Do ... 132
GOKE, F. J.	Crisis in Civil Air Transport ... 430
GREAVES, C. D.	Greetings ... 349
GREEN, Nan	Selected Stories of Lu Hsun (R) ... 495
HART, F.	Problems Facing the T.U.C. ... 374
HEYM, S.	The Shape of the Future ... 509
HILL, Ted	Greetings ... 349
	Boilermaker Speaks to Miners ... 366
HOOD, Katherine	The Land Racket ... 74
	Friendly Societies in England (R) ... 586
HOOPER, R.	Forty-hour Week ... 23
HORNER, A.	Greetings ... 349
HUNTER, H.	Our History (Letter) ... 396
JACKSON, F.	Unite and Unify ... 69
JAGAN, Janet	British Guiana: Our Victory ... 484
JOHNSON, THE VERY REV. Dr. Hewlett	Greetings ... 350
JORDAN, A.	Common Market? Take Agriculture ... 518
KERRIGAN, P.	The Easter Conferences ... 210
KETTLE, A.	Communication ... 447
KIRMAN, B.	Health and Humanity, etc. (R) ... 237
KITSON, A. H.	No Paws on Transport! ... 527
KUCZYNSKI, PROFESSOR J.	Greetings ... 343
KUO, Mo-Jo	Victorious in Death (Poem) ... 461
KUUSINEN, O.	Greetings ... 343
LABOUR MONTHLY Editorial Board	Malta and <i>Labour Monthly</i> ... 187, 235
LEGAL CORRESPONDENT	Great Political Trials ... 271
LENIN, V. I.	A Left-Wing in Parliament ... 444
LINDLEY, W.	Are Dockers Decasualised? ... 322
LINDSAY, Isobel	Young Socialists: What Now? ... 273
LIU, Ning-yi	Greetings ... 344
MACDIARMID, H.	The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ... 176
MCGAHEY, M.	Fuel Policy Madness ... 329
MCGREE, L.	Immigrants and Crisis ... 561
MACKENZIE, Sir Compton	Greetings ... 350
MAHON, J.	Britain's Transport Crisis (R) ... 46
	Greater (Tory) London ... 388
MATTHEWS, G.	Greetings ... 350
MAY, S. V.	Towards One Building Union ... 118
MAYNARD, Joan, J.P.	Change, Not Tinkering ... 467
MEREDITH, C.	The Founding of Canada (R) ... 286
MITCHISON, Naomi	The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ... 173
MOFFAT, Abe	This Trades Union Congress ... 471
MONTAGU, I.	Permanent Red (R) ... 45
	Many-Splendoured Nato ... 85
	Poll or No Poll? ... 170
	Problems of Peacework ... 305
MORTIMER, J. E.	The Case Against Joining the Common Market ... 370
NANDY, D.	Some Graver Subject (R) ... 239
NEWTON, J. E.	The Great Tragedy ... 16
	Greetings ... 350
NIVEN, Barbara	An Art Critic's Job ... 442
NKRUMAH, Dr. Kwame	Africa Speaks ... 320
PAGE, I.	African Workers Unite ... 383
PARSONS, O. H.	Industrial Accidents ... 533
PAYNTER, W.	Greetings ... 350
	The Coal Situation ... 426
PHILIBERT, Marie	Berger's 'Problems of Socialist Art' (Letter) ... 270
POCOCK, G.	Youth Rebels ... 232
PRENDERGAST, J.	Unity in Resisting Rail Closures ... 268
PRITT, D. N., q.c.	Light on Central Africa ... 27
	Home and Colonialism ... 79
	Africa—The Roots of Revolt (R) ... 143
	Incorrigible Rebel (R) ... 190
	The Silence of Earl Attlee (R) ... 283
	Political Cases ... 315
	Greetings ... 351
QUÆSTOR	Let Not My People Come ... 557
	The Lesson of Laos ... 225
A.R.	Who in Europe Wants War? ... 309
RATHBONE, H.	The Origins of the Second World War (R) ... 397
	Uneconomic 'Economic Aid' (R) ... 126

	Page
RITCHIE, T.	We Who Marched ... 479
ROBERTSON, A.	Christianity and Communism Today (R) ... 95
	The New English Bible (R) ... 446
	Luther (R) ... 494
	The Writer and Commitment (R) ... 543
RODERICK, C.	The Lesson of Welsh Steel ... 576
ROTHSTEIN, A.	And Now Tomorrow (R) ... 44
	Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (R) ... 236
SEABROOK, D.	Notes of the Month: War Threat—Why? ... 353
SILVERMAN, S., M.P.	Organising the Unorganised ... 263
SLIMON, B.	Signpost—To Where? ... 416
SLOAN, P.	Pavlov and Freud (Vol. 2. Freud, A Pavlovian Critique) (R) ... 191
	Two Systems, Two Programmes ... 419
SNOW, SIR Charles	New Dimensions in Foreign Policy (R) ... 587
STRATHERN, D. H.	Greetings ... 351
SWAFFER, H.	Disarmament and the Facts ... 71
THOMSON, PROFESSOR G.	From 'The Clarion' Onward ... 340
	Greetings ... 351
THOREZ, M.	The Life and Times of James Connolly (R) ... 399
TOGLIATTI, P.	Greetings ... 344
TUCKETT, Angela	Greetings ... 345
TURNER, R.	Readers' News and Fund ... (see inside covers)
	Cover Design ...
VAN GYSEGHEM, A.	Drawing of William Gallacher ... 569
VERNON, T.	Moscow Theatres (R) ... 287
VULCAN	The Housing Bill Fraud ... 332
J.W.	Democracy in the Unions ... 113
WALLACE-JOHNSON, I. T. A.	An Epic of Clare Market (R) ... 47
WEAVER, H.	Crisis in Sierra Leone ... 280
WEERTH, G.	A Case for Nationalisation ... 65
WHITEHEAD, H.	The Hundred Men of Haswell (Poem) ... 34
WHITEHEAD, W.	Free Enterprise Rents ... 40
WILCOX, V. G.	Steel and U.S. Coal ... 257
WILLIS, R.	Greetings ... 345
WINCHESTER, F. S.	Blackpool and Berlin ... 515
WINNINGTON, A.	Wages, Work and Organisation ... 19
WINTERTON, E. M.	Atrocity Stories Exploded ... 41
	Dreamers in Westminster ... 89
WODDIS, J.	The War on Wages ... 436
WOLFFE, M.	What is Happening in the Congo? ... 570
YOUNG, E. P.	The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium ... 176
	Eastern Europe in the Post-War World (R) ... 585

II—SUBJECTS

	Page
AFRICA	Light on Central Africa ... 27
	3rd All-African Peoples Conference (Resolution) ... 276
	Crisis in Sierra Leone ... 280
	Africa Speaks ... 320
	African Workers Unite ... 383
	What is Happening in the Congo? ... 570
AGRICULTURE	Common Market? Take Agriculture ... 519
ALGERIA	Vulgar Imperial Fractions ... 26
ARNOT, R. PAGE	Open Letter to Robin Page Arnot ... 64
ART AND POETRY	The Hundred Men of Haswell ... 34
	Art No Luxury ... 35
	Problems of Socialist Art ... 135, 179, 270
	Ode to Toussaint L'Ouverture ... 144
	An Art Critic's Job ... 442
	Victorious in Death ... 461
BUILDING	A Case for Nationalisation ... 65
	Unite and Unify ... 69
	Towards One Building Union ... 118
CHINA	China's Seat in U.N. ... 223
	A Great Chinese Anniversary ... 301
	On Hearing a B.B.C. Programme of Three Experts Discussing Red China ... 541
COLONIALISM	Home and Colonialism ... 79
	From Haiti to Congo (Poem) ... 144
	What is Neo-Colonialism? ... 276
	Let Not My People Come ... 557
	Immigrants and Crisis ... 561
COMMON MARKET	The Case Against Joining the Common Market ... 370
	Common Market Cage for Ageing Lions ... 409
	Common Market? Take Agriculture ... 518
COMMUNICATIONS	396, 442, 447
COMMUNISM	A Programme for Mankind ... 1

	Page
Storming Heaven	193
Forty Years On	290
The Shape of the Future	509
After the 22nd Congress	545
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (2 Resolutions)	175
Resolution of 3rd All-African Peoples Conference	276
Towards Disarmament	492
The Economic Outlook	122
Uneconomic 'Economic Aid'	126
The War on Wages	436
An Epoch-Making Book (R)	487
Britain and the World Bank	564
Victorious in Death (Poem)	461
Open Letter to William Gallacher	568
Free Enterprise Rents	40
The Land Racket	74
The Housing Bill Fraud	332
ILLUSTRATIONS	
72, 120, 178, 181, 182, 216, 264, 376, 424, 472, 520, 569	
KOREA	
LABOUR MONTHLY	
Atrocity Stories Exploded	41
*40th Anniversary Greetings (see below and Author's Index)	
162, 341, 391	
Malta and <i>Labour Monthly</i>	187, 235
Bond with Afro-Asia	396
Our History	396
Wages, Work and Organisation	19
Forty Hour Week	23
Dreamers in Westminster	89
Democracy in the Unions	113
What is Defence?	145
The Non-Manual Worker	167
Poll or No Poll?	170
The Easter Conferences	210
The T.U.C. Leadership	215
Union Branches: Factory or Local?	222
What is Unity?	241
Engineers: What Happened	260
Organising the Unorganised	263
The Silence of Earl Attlee (R)	283
Conferences: Next Round	327
Brand X Reformism (R)	336, 447
Boilermaker Speaks to Miners	366
Problems Before the T.U.C.	374
Battle for the Future	414
Signpost—To Where?	416
Address to the Electricians	433
The War on Wages	436
Signposts—or Windmills?	465
Change, Not Tinkering	467
This Trades Union Congress	471
Blackpool-Brighton-Moscow	497
Blackpool and Berlin	515
The Teachers' Lesson	530
Industrial Accidents	533
The Lesson of Welsh Steel	576
The Lesson of Laos	225
Greater (Tory) London	388
Malta and <i>Labour Monthly</i>	187, 235
Aden: Oil or Independence?	31
Steel and U.S. Coal	257
Fuel Policy Madness	329
The Coal Situation	426
In Crisis and War (R)	580
Patrice Lumumba	111
William Z. Foster	470
Archibald Robertson	514
No. 1. Jan Ken Edi	271
Political Cases	315
Storming Heaven	193
The First Cosmonaut Speaks in the Red Square	208
(For 'Problems' series see under Labour and Trade Union Movement)	
TRANSPORT	
Transport: An Exercise in Expediency	163
Unity in Resisting Rail Closures	268
Are Dockers Decasualised?	322

*From Fraternal Journals: Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review), 391. The Tribune, 391. Weg und Ziel, 391. Rabotnichesko Delo, 392. Marxist Review, 392. People's Daily, 392. Cahiers du Communisme, 392. L'Humanité, 392. La Pensée, 393. Einheit, 393. Tarsadalmi Szemle, 393. Kol Haam, 393. Trybuna Ludu, 394. Scinteia, 394. The African Communist, 394. Mainstream, 394. Science & Society, 395. International Affairs, 395. New Times, 395. Pravda, 395.

	Page
Crisis in Civil Air Transport	430
No Paws on Transport!	527
U.S.S.R. A Programme for Mankind	1
Two Systems, Two Programmes	419
Cultural Exchanges Need Equality	440
WAR OR PEACE The Shape of the Future	509
The Great Tragedy	16
German Youth and Peace	39
What is 'Neutralism'?	49
Disarmament and the Facts	69
Many-Splendoured Nato	85
New Horizons?	97
What is Defence?	145
The Bomb: Next Steps. A Symposium	173
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (2 Resolutions)	175
This Wonderful 'Free World'	302
Problems of Peacework	305
Who in Europe Wants War?	309
War Threat—Why?	353
Berlin and the New Arms Race	402
Peace and Power	449
Towards Disarmament (Document)	492
WEST INDIES British Guiana: Our Victory	484
What Now in the Caribbean?	537
YOUTH Labour's Problem Child?	131
What I Want to See Conference Do	132
Youth Rebels	232
Young Socialists: What Now?	273
Myself When Young	339
From 'The Clarion' Onward	340
We Who Marched	479
The Young Welsh Miners	481

BOOKS REVIEWED

Author or Editor	Title (and (Reviewer)	Page
Annot, R. Page	The Miners in Crisis and War: A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (from 1930 onwards) (W. Gallacher)	580
Attlee, Earl	A Prime Minister Remembers (D. N. Pritt, Q.C.)	283
Bartlett, Vernon	And Now Tomorrow (Andrew Rothstein)	44
Beloff, Max	New Dimensions in Foreign Policy (Pat Sloan)	587
Bennett, J. C.	Christianity and Communism Today (Archibald Robertson)	95
Berger, John	Permanent Red (Ivor Montagu)	48
Beveridge, Janet	An Epic of Clare Market (J.W.)	47
Broadbent, J. B.	Some Graver Subject: An Essay on 'Paradise Lost' (Dipak Nandy)	239
Communist Party of the Soviet Union	History of the C.P.S.U. (Clemens Dutt)	496
Davies, Ernest	Britain's Transport Crisis (John Mahon)	46
Foster, J. R.	And Peace Shall Prevail (J. Davidson)	192
Gosden, P. H. J. H.	Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875 (Katherine Hood)	586
Greaves, Desmond C.	The Life and Times of James Connolly (George Thomson)	399
Heinemann, Margot	The Adventurers (Dai Dan Evans)	92
Horner, Arthur	Incorrigible Rebel (D. N. Pritt, Q.C.)	190
Kinhead, Eugene	Why They Collaborated (Alan Winnington)	41
Komissarjevsky, V.	Moscow Theatres (André Van Gyseghem)	287
Kuusinen, O.	Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (Andrew Rothstein)	236
Leff, S. and V.	Health and Humanity (Brian Kirman)	237
Lu Hsun	Selected Stories (Brian Green)	495
Makeyeva, O.	Prevention of Maternal and Infant Diseases (Brian Kirman)	237
Mander, John	The Writer and Commitment (Archibald Robertson)	543
Osborne, John	Luther (Archibald Robertson)	494
Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press	The New English Bible: New Testament (Archibald Robertson)	446
Platonov, K.	The Word as a Physiological and Therapeutic Factor (Brian Kirman)	237
Ripka, Hubert	Eastern Europe in the Post-War World (E. P. Young)	585
Ryerson, Stanley B.	The Founding of Canada (C. Meredith)	286
Schonfield, A.	The Attack on World Poverty (Hugo Rathbone)	126
Sraffa, Piero	Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities: Prelude to a Critique of Economic Theory (M. Dobb)	487
Taylor, A. J. P.	The Origins of the Second World War (A.R.)	397
Wells, Harry K.	Pavlov and Freud (Vol. 2. Freud, A Pavlovian Critique) (Brian Simon)	191
Williams, Raymond	The Long Revolution (Clemens Dutt)	336
Wilson, Geoffrey, M.P.	Britain's Transport Crisis (John Mahon)	46
Woddis, Jack	Africa: The Roots of Revolt (D. N. Pritt, Q.C.)	143

Published by the proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballard's Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

(Continued from page ii of cover)

the spare copy on him, and when he gets involved in an argument, he says: 'Read this article, laddie, and tell me what you think next time you see me.' He remarked with a sly grin 'It generally settles the argument'. A *trades council secretary* always takes his L.M. to monthly meetings: 'In the pub afterwards something almost always comes up dealt with in the Notes or this Trade Union Problems series, so I pass it on'. People often ask us to send specimen copies of special-interest articles from that series to people they know in the particular industry, or they ask us to circularise trade union branches and shop stewards committees about them. A *Southern Counties* reader gets hers through a newsagent with whom she leaves it on display for two or three days, to draw attention to it. All this is excellent; the next problem is to make a *regular* reader once someone has been interested. But busy people can't always have next month's copy on them at the right time and place; newsagents will only stock on order. The ideal way is a postal subscription—for six months or a year. That clinches it; once this good habit is

formed, people rarely give up except for financial reasons. There it is on the dot—or rather, on the mat—by post the first day of the month at latest. No hanging about depending on someone else to pick it up for you. We will provide a subscription form; or why not use the subscription form in the magazine itself? And this month, there's the Christmas Gift Subscription scheme whereby for 10s. (two for 17s. 6d.; three for 27s. 6d.) you can give your friend (at home or overseas) a present of a six months' subscription, and any personal message you want us to send with it.

It is impossible in this, the last issue of our fortieth year, not to pay a special tribute to all those generous readers, from regular or occasional fund supporters to those who backed us financially for the first time ever. It has been an extraordinarily fine performance. Look at this: in 1951, our 30th Birthday presents amounted to £100: our 40th Birthday presents up to October 31st, have already reached £563 14s. 6d. Our warmest thanks—and congratulations. Donations received during October totalled:

£79 13s. 3d.

40th BIRTHDAY PRESENTS came from: 'Daisy Bell', £10; B. Farrington, 10s. (BIRTHDAY TOTAL NOW STANDS AT: £563 14s. 6d.)

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: K. Forge, 10s; J. A. Smith, 12s; 'Backslider', 10s; H.G.B., 11s; 'In Memory of Joe Brien', 3s; 'Windfall', £10; J. Tarver, 5s; E. Strachan Rogers, £2 2s; D. H. Strathern, 6s; R.F.B., £3; L. Bates, 5s; Oldham Branch, 1s; Blackburn Branch, 1s; 'Anon' Whitchurch, 2s; M. Brandt, 5s; L.Humanite, 4s; 'S. Mill', £2; L. Perkins, 2s 6d; R. Dodd, £2; The Humphreys Family, 5s; Marie Philibert, 5s; J. Hill, £2; 'Oliver Twist and Friends', 15s; R. McLeod, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; C.T.H., £5; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; F.G.A. (Canada), 10s; E.J.B., 10s; Stephen Turner for Daisy Mendez of Cuba, 5s; A.M.T. for Fernando and Guilherme, Portugal, 1s.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS INCLUDE: W. Winsch, 5s; E. J. Wright, 5s; H. Wolff, 12s; F. W. Garley, 12s; V. Moore, £1; 'D.R.M.', 11s; 'Ph.D.', 5s; S. Fitzpatrick, 2s 6d; Mary Vanstone, £3 3s; W. and N. Cockren, £1 2s; G. S. Robertson, 10s; R. Wrightson, £2; J. Ellis, 7s; F. Crump, 2s; Blackpool Donations, 5s 6d; E. R. Morris, £1; C. Hoyle, 5s; H.B. (Toronto), £1; L. Conley, 12s; A. Jordan, 5s 3d; G. S. Nowell, 5s; Anon (Essex), £4; R. Swindlehurst, 3s 6d; J. H. Jowett, £1; B. Thomas, 2s; Edith Walthall, £1; J. V. Ruffell, 2s; M.A. (Canada), 14s 2d; M.H. (Canada), £1 3s 11d; Edgar P. Young, 2s; E. M. Berlyn, 6s 6d; Mrs. V. S. Truelove, 3s; G. Meredith, 10s; B. W. Mackay, 4s 6d; G.I., £1 6s; S. Horrod, £1; H. Swanson, £1 2s; B. Norman, £1; Wm. Wallace, £4; W.M. (Canada), 10s; R.C.W. (U.S.A.), £1 11s 5d.

Our thanks to you all.

Co-op. No. L.99482.

ANGELA TUCKETT,
134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.
FINchley 5135.

Binder Bros. Ltd.

Building and decorating
by craftsmen

STAmford Hill 4096

MIMETTE FURS LTD.

*Wide range of furs, coats,
stoles and capes.*

117 High Street, Croydon, Surrey.

'Phone: CROydon 4328.

LABOUR RESEARCH

Wage Pause and After

Tea Breaks

Engineering Profits

price 1s. 2d. post free

Labour Research Department

161, Drury Lane, London, W.C.2

We wish to buy

**BOOKS
PAMPHLETS
PERIODICALS**

relating to

**LABOUR MOVEMENT
TRADE UNIONS
POLITICS**

Collet's

Out-of-print & Rare books dept.

64, Charing Cross Rd., London, W.C.2.

LABOUR MONTHLY

**Bound Volume
1961**

*It's a history of the year and a
permanent record*

ORDER NOW

From your usual newsagents, price
£1.5.0d., or send 10s.6d., plus 1s.6d.
postage, and your loose copies as
soon as possible to:

**THE MANAGER,
134, BALLARDS LANE,
LONDON, N.3.**

WHY NOT BY POST?

NAME
(Please use block capitals)

ADDRESS

I enclose 18s. (if by wrapper,
or £1 if by envelope), for year's
subscription from the
issue.

(SIGNED)

**To LABOUR MONTHLY
134, BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3**